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A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF MODERN
SYSTEMS OF PSYCHOLOGICAL TYPOLOGY

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PREFACE

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CHAPTER I

THE BACKGROUND AND STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The Problem

Statement of the Problem

Systems of psychological types have been in use for thousands of years, ever since men became aware of the differences which exist among themselves and began to classify each other. One writer has suggested that even the early cavemen had their systems of types, dividing people into those that ran away and those that attacked!¹ In the ancient world, the systems of characters, and imaginary conversations between representatives of various types or humors are well known to us through the thirty brilliant character essays of Theophrastus, who was a pupil of Aristotle and ninety years old when he wrote the Characters. They have been imitated by many eminent writers down to our very own day, among them such well known writers as Walter Savage Landor² and James Oppenheim.³

Theophrastus' characters and Hippocrates' theory of four humors as the basis of temperament are among the best known of these early typologies. Ben Jonson's Every Man Out of His

1. M. H. Sichs, A Study of the Rorschach "Erlebniss-Typus" of Comparable White and Negro Subjects. Ph. D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1943. p. 9.

2. Imaginary Conversations.

3. American Types.

Humor is still played today, although it was written in the sixteenth century and is based on Hippocrates' humor theory of types. Addison and Steele's essays abound in portrayals of types,¹ and David Hume, the great philosopher, wrote about the necessity for typing people in order to understand them.² Jean La Bruyere³ and Francois La Rochefoucauld,⁴ the great French essayists, often wrote of character types, as did the brilliant satirist and philosopher Charles de Secondat Montesquieu.⁵ When Francis Bacon, as long ago as 1606, said that "the first article, therefore, of the culture of the mind, will regard the different natures or dispositions of men ... I cannot sometimes but wonder that this particular should be generally neglected...",⁶ he was calling for a workable typology.

Robert Burton's seventeenth century Anatomy of Melancholy dealt exclusively with humors as the basis of temperament types. The great philosopher, Immanuel Kant, in his Anthropologie also notes the four temperaments, the sanguine, melancholic, choleric, and phlegmatic, and thought they were very important

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1. Joseph Addison and Richard Steele, The Tatler and the Spectator essays.
 2. D. Hume, Of the Dignity or Meanness of Human Nature, and An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding.
 3. Les Caractères.
 4. Les Pensées
 5. Persian Letters
 6. F. Bacon, Advancement of Learning, Book 7, Chapter 3, quoted by A.A. Roback, The Psychology of Character, pp.139-140.

in personality. It is interesting to note that one of the great figures in modern science, I. P. Pavlov, emerged from an extended series of experimental researches with the same four types. Johann Friederich Herbart, one of the founders of modern psychology, discussed the types of men in some detail.¹ In the twentieth century, interest in types has increased immensely and the literature of typology is considerable. During the 1920's, an average of one thousand articles a year appeared on the subject of types.²

Psychology and the other social sciences make considerable use of systems of types and some systems of types have not only become part of the stereotypy of cultivated and scholarly language but have become popular catchwords, i. e. Introvert - extrovert.

There has been little comparative criticism and analysis of types but rather an uncritical acceptance by investigators of those systems of types which suited their needs.

This study proposes to examine the genesis, content, significance, limitations and interrelationships of those systems of psychological types which are in use at the present time in psychology and the social sciences. The following ten

1. Lehrbuch zur Psychologie, pp.38-99.

2. This figure is obtained from a study of several bibliographies, especially W. H. Krogman, A Bibliography of Human Morphology, 1914-1939. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941. P. xxxi + 385.

criteria are employed in examining the general classes of typology:

1. **Original purpose of each system:** the stated purpose of the originator of each system is discussed in terms of, and compared to, the manner in which his purpose was achieved by his system.
2. **Nature of original data:** the original data on the basis of which the system was constructed are examined for the adequacy of sampling, objectivity, arbitrariness, validity and reliability, representative character, adequacy, and observer reliability, insofar as these can be checked by studying the original publications of the creator of each system and other publications, either critical or expository or in some way relevant, which deal with the system and its data.
3. **Internal consistency of all parts of the system:** the manner in which it hangs together and forms a coherent, self contained whole, and an examination of any elements of the system which appear to be anomalous as compared to the system as an organic whole.
4. **Conformity with known facts:** the extent to which the system conforms with the characteristics of the population with which the typologist worked, as gathered from a reexamination of the data and from his description of the population with which he worked, as found in his publications and other relevant critical and expository writings.
5. **Predictive power, both for groups and for individuals:** evaluated from a survey of the instances in which a typology has

been used to predict action, behavior, or change, or to make a prognosis, in literature of the social sciences or medicine.

6. Pragmatic value: the extent to which each system has been of use in any practical way, to people working within the framework of the social sciences, the arts, or medicine, as measured by the number and kinds of works of art, researches, or studies, in which a typology has had an organic part, as these are determined by studying relevant literature. The degree to which other researches of a cognate nature have been stimulated is evaluated by an examination of the nature, techniques, and results of such researches.
7. Endorsement by experts: the opinions of specialists in the fields emphasized by each system, as culled from favorable and unfavorable comments made on each system, from the time of its formulation up to the present time. These opinions are compared for trends, majority comments, and areas of agreement and disagreement.
8. Conformity with basic postulates of psychology: the extent to which the system permits recognition and takes cognizance of the few basic postulates which current schools of thought in psychology accept, i. e., that human beings develop from infancy to adulthood, and that environment has some influence on the individual.
9. Squaring with other systems: the extent to which each system is in harmony with, or in conflict with, other systems, as measured by comparing their doctrines.

10. Sheer illuminative power: the degree to which hitherto unseen relationships are presented and clarified, as measured by the nature of each system's insights.¹

This is, then a critical examination of modern systems of psychological typology.

Delimitations

1. Only systems of types developed after 1900, which are in contemporary use by psychology and the social sciences, will be considered.
2. Those systems which present basic differences in body build as correlates of differences in personality will not be considered.

Sub-Problems

The founder of a new system of types usually does not present his system as the outgrowth of a school of thought, but as a unique and original concept. However, for convenience, the author has grouped systems of types into three broad categories and established the following sub-problems:

1. To investigate, critically and comparatively, the content, growth, and significance of the psychoanalytic types.
2. To investigate, critically and comparatively, the content, growth and significance of the physiological types, which depend on a specific feature of the functioning of the organism.
3. To investigate, critically and comparatively, the content,

1. Some of these criteria were suggested by discussions in the series of critiques of research of the Social Science Research Council, notably Herbert Blumer's discussion of The Polish Peasant.

growth, and significance of the philosophical types, which are based on a specific aspect of man's relation to his environment.

Definitions¹

1. A typology is a system of descriptions of two or more groups in which an emphatic consistency of qualities makes the members of one group qualitatively distinct from the members of other groups.
2. Temperament refers to a person's emotional nature.
3. Character is "a phase of personality comprising the more enduring traits which are of ethical and social significance."²
4. Personality is the integrative dynamic organization of all the aspects of the individual, as they express themselves in behavior.
5. Body build is the proportional relationship between contrasted bodily segments.

Basic Assumptions

1. Systems of psychological types have been used to facilitate the study and understanding of behavior and personality, as well as temperament and character.
2. No system of psychological types has been sufficiently accepted

1. There is little harmony among the different users of most of these terms defined. These definitions give the meaning which the terms will have in this study.

2. H.C. Warren, Dictionary of Psychology, p. 42.

to make a critical examination of it unnecessary.

Significance of the Problem

Sheldon has emphasized that "to be useful, psychology needs first of all to bring system and order into the description of basic differences among human beings. In order to systematize the science of human behavior, we must start with some kind of descriptive classification of the behaving structure."¹ In a recent book, Sheldon gives evidence for his belief that types will give a better understanding of mental disorder, organic disease, mating habits, juvenile delinquency, and education.²

Kluever underlines the fact that "a great number of investigators in the different fields of psychology, in psychopathology and psychiatry, take it as a matter of course that their material necessitates the introduction of the concept of types."³ He points out that certain phenomena are only visible by means of the typological method, and reminds us that although some people object to the typological method on the grounds that types do not exist, they do not realize that neither does e-x⁴ exist in actuality, although it is a most useful concept. He points out that a typology is a multiple unit, dynamic action

1. W. H. Sheldon, S.S. Stevens, and W.B. Tucker, The Varieties of Human Physique: An Introduction to Constitutional Psychology, p. xi.

2. Ibid., pp. 239-263.

3. H. Kluever, "Typological Method," in S.A. Rice, editor, Methods in Social Science, p. 146.

4. Ibid., p. 181.

system. "The typological method seeks to uncover certain specific¹ modes of interaction in this system." The units which become visible are dynamic units. "Without the typological method, certain phenomena and their relations never become visible, although scientifically they have no existence and they will never exist unless one abandons the idea that phenomena which cannot be investigated by one of the available scientific methods do not exist."² He concludes his discussion by reiterating that a type may be "far more exact than an equation: only one who thinks of method as something divorced from facts and from the materials at hand will doubt this statement."³

Kurt Lewin has emphasized the need for the study of types, even assuming the rarity of pure types, by pointing out that an isolated, special case may be more informative to the psychologist than the study of the general population.⁴ He observes that scientific laws are often more accurate if based on a pure case than if they were based on an average case. He points out, for example, that the general validity of the law of movement down an inclined plane is not established by taking the average of many stones rolling down hill, but by a frictionless rolling of

1. Loc. cit.

2. Ibid., p. 183.

3. Ibid., p. 184.

4. K. Lewin, "The Conflict between Aristotelian and Galilean Modes of Thought in Contemporary Psychology", A Dynamic Theory of Personality, pp. 1-42.

an ideal sphere down an absolutely straight plane, which is improbable in real life. Thus a hypothetical case, by eliminating irrelevant factors, may well give an accurate view of total personality.

Murphy and Jensen point out that "the term type has proved protean and elastic almost beyond description." ¹ Stagner remarks that the great value of type descriptions is as anchorage points ² of reference regarding personalities. In studying any given individual, it is possible to compare the personality to the standard types and obtain a more complete and satisfying picture of the personality. Roback deplores the lack of interest in the study of types and points out that although typology was the first psychological topic to be studied, practically no progress ³ has been made for several thousand years.

Murphy underscores the necessity for studying typology and says that the usefulness of a typology is not impugned because some errors appear on inspection, and compares this to a ⁴ chemist's throwing away everything that is not quite pure. The sociologist Howard Becker has outlined the usefulness of the ⁵ type concepts in the social sciences in a recent article.

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1. G. Murphy and F. Jensen, Approaches to Personality: Some Contemporary Conceptions Used in Psychology and Psychiatry, p.32.
 2. R. Stagner, Psychology of Personality, p. 252.
 3. A.A. Roback, The Psychology of Character, p. 3.
 4. G. Murphy, Personality: A Biosocial Approach to Origins and Structure, p. 740.
 5. "Constructive Typologies in the Social Sciences," American Sociological Review, 5, (1940), pp. 40-55.

The distinguished British psychologist Spearman¹ has praised the insights afforded by typologies.

Margaret Mead, whose discussions of culture and personality are widely known, sees the recognition of the "genuine differences among ... types" and "the presence of comparable ranges of constitutional types in each human society" as keys to the problem of sex differences.²

The political scientist H.D. Lasswell uses psychological types as the basis for many of his studies. He frequently refers to the value of "types which have been isolated by serious students of culture, who have sought to impose order upon the life of the past."³ He writes that in the social sciences "it is becoming customary to speak of types of temperament, character, or more loosely, of personality."⁴

Robert K. Merton⁵ and Talcott Parsons⁶ have often used types in their sociological analyses, and the concept of types⁷ has been recently used in economics.

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1. C. Spearman, "German Science of Character, II, Approach from Typology," Character and Personality, 6, (1937), pp. 36-49.
 2. Male and Female, p. 138.
 3. Psychopathology and Politics, p. 39.
 4. H.D. Lasswell, World Politics and Personal Insecurity, p. 42.
 5. Social Theory and Social Structure. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1949 p. 423.
 6. The Structure of Social Action, pp. 563-575.
 7. Leland H. Jenks, "Role Structure of Entrepreneurial Personality" in Harvard Research Center in Entrepreneurial History, Change and the Entrepreneur, Postulates and Patterns for Entrepreneurial History. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949. P. vii + 200. pp. 108-152.

The great German social scientist Max Weber brought the concept of types into social psychology.¹ He used types to indicate a logically precise conception of certain elements of reality. Weber believed that social scientists had the choice of using logically controlled and unambiguous conceptualizations or of using less precise conceptualizations which are more empirically valid. But to Weber, the value of a pure or extreme case was so great that the sacrifice of empirical validity was worth the insight afforded by the type concept. General concepts, to Weber, implied the use of types to assist in making comparative surveys. Gerth and Mills say that "as general concepts, ideal types are tools with which Weber prepares the descriptive materials of world history for comparative analysis. These types vary in scope and in the level of their abstraction."²

Shuey has remarked on the parallelism between some recent trends in science and in modern typology.³ He points out that science is steadily abandoning absolutism, and is becoming increasingly dynamic. The significance of Heisenberg's principle of indeterminacy and the recognition of time as the fourth dimension has been to lessen the importance of merely static measurements. Similar changes in method are demanded in psychology. Shuey remarks on the necessity for a dynamic typology which sees personality as becoming rather than being.

1. H. Gerth and C.W. Mills, editors, From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, New York: Oxford University Press, 1946. P.xi + 490. pp. 59-61.

2. Ibid., p. 60.

3. H. Shuey, "Recent Trends in Science and the Development of Modern Typology," Psychological Review, 41, (1934), pp.207-235.

Allport has reminded us that "personality is so complex a thing that every legitimate method must be employed in its study."¹ The tremendously difficult nature of this study is underlined by research conducted by Allport and Odbert, who found that there were no less than 17,953 words in the English language used to designate more or less distinctive behavior.² At least a quarter of these represent persistent traits rather than momentary states of mind or mood. There are about three hundred different traits or supposed traits for which psychological tests have been devised. Recognizing the immensely involved nature of the subject, typologists have attempted to set up dynamic action systems, or types, which would conceptualize human behavior and personality in such a manner as to afford new insights.

A system which sets out to measure 17,953 traits individually is obviously going to produce results different from those obtained by a system which sets up a few polarities and says that all human behavior can be subsumed under these polarities. Hager has pointed out that the manner in which an investigator conceives of his problem, "the style, vintage and parsimony of his conceptual tools," often define the problem to be

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1. G.W. Allport, Personality, A Psychological Interpretation, p.370.
 2. G.W. Allport and H.S. Odbert, Trait-Names: A Psycho-lexical Study. Princeton and Albany: Psychological Review Company, 1936. P. 171.

attacked. He remarks that man's ability to control his environment is due to his ability to categorize and systematize experience through language processes.

Systems of types attempt to do just this: to force the elusive entity we call personality into verbal categories which increase our understanding of it. Typologies are not additive collections of traits, but concepts which try to increase our understanding of personality by establishing new dimensions for our understanding.

It is remarkable that systems of types seem to spring forth continuously and frequently in all countries. With the possible exception of the Far East, every country has produced its systems of types. Many of these systems are almost exact duplicates of systems promulgated elsewhere by somebody else. In spite of the perennial opposition to some systems of types, typologists right up to the present are continuing to produce systems. Even France, which traditionally has not produced any systems of psychology although many Frenchmen have made great individual contributions, has produced several systems of typology (Rostan, Sigaud, McAuliffe) and has a Society for the study of types.

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1. D. J. Hager, "Some Observations on the Relationship Between Social Science and Intergroup Education," Journal of Educational Sociology, 23, (January, 1950), p. 284.
 2. Société de Biotypologie; see E. Schreider, Les Types Humains, for a discussion of this society, and of French typology.

During the nineteenth century, several French writers contributed to the development of a tri-modal typology, originally promulgated by Rostan in 1828.¹ "The approach (of the entire French group) is literary and anecdotally observational rather than systematically scientific. There is rich, shrewd insight, based on both clinical and general observation, but there is no attempt to cross the difficult barrier which intervenes between an intelligently generalized insight and the objective structuralization of a taxonomy."² Neither Rostan nor any other member of the French group made a serious attempt to translate these intuitions into the language of modern science.

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1. L. Rostan, Cours Elimentaire d'Hygiene, cited by W.H. Sheldon, S.S. Stevens, and W.B. Tucker, The Varieties of Human Physique: An Introduction to Constitutional Psychology, p.11.
 2. W. H. Sheldon, "Constitutional Factors in Personality," in J. McV. Hunt, editor, Personality and the Behavior Disorders, Volume 1, p. 527.

CHAPTER II

RELATED STUDIES

Roback has written a lively encyclopaedic history of early typologies.¹ He laments the poor quality of much of the work in the field.² He surveys the history of typology, and, finding all typologies inadequate, presents his own system which appears to have many of the faults he castigates in other systems. He attacks the "exaggerated importance attached to experience in the formation of character"³ in the work of the trait psychologists. He points out that inasmuch as "different people are affected differently by apparently similar stimuli, it would be reasonable to maintain that character in reality precedes and determines the nature of the effect."⁴ Referring to the learning and association theories of types and personality, he remarks that "if character is formed in such an utterly mechanical way, there is no reason why we should not attribute this quality to a radio apparatus."⁵

1. A.A. Roback, The Psychology of Character.

2. Ibid., p. 3.

3. Ibid., p. 302.

4. Loc. cit.

5. Loc. cit.

A monograph by Lessa takes stock of type systems and is enthusiastic about their possibilities, but cautions that "the odium of charlatanism, engendered by the chimerical characterologies of the pre-scientific period, still lingers in the minds of both laymen and professionals."¹ He emphasizes that types can help clarify the relationship between environment and personality. "One of the aims of biotypology is to take full recognition of the obscuring factors of the socio-economic background."²

Lessa lists the great obstacles to a more dynamic personality study to be the uncertainty of precise heredito-environmental factors, and the difficulty in measurement and expression of the qualities of mind typologically.³

Bloor has attempted to survey the field of temperament types. She reports that the general picture is one of "confusion resulting from the use of ill-defined terms attached to nebulous concepts."⁴

Typical of the ingenuity which has been employed by European writers on typology is a book by Le Senne, all of which is devoted to an elaborate classification of people on the

1. W.A. Lessa, An Appraisal of Constitutional Typologies, p. 85.

2. Loc. cit.

3. Ibid., p. 28.

4. C. Bloor, Temperament, p. 3.

basis of the kinds of lies they tell.¹ Another ingenious European study is Joan Evans' analysis of the kinds of paintings which are painted by, as well as admired by different personality types. She says that "if aesthetics be the study of the relation that exists between the man who perceives beauty and the object that he finds beautiful, it must include a study of that combination of tendencies in feeling and thought which we call temperament."² She emphasizes that "it is as important to discriminate between the types of perceiving men as it is to distinguish between the genres of art."³

C.M. Harsh and H.G. Schrickel present a balanced discussion of types and repeatedly indicate their value for personality study.⁴ Henry Winthrop has attempted to give typology a mathematical foundation.⁵ "Biotypology must and can become more quantitative and statistical in its approach."⁶ He has pointed out the first-rank importance of typology for all the sciences which deal with man.

Donceel reports that the most promising advances in psychology in Europe in the last twenty years have been made in the

1. R. Le Senne, Le Mensonge et le Caractere.

2. Taste and Temperament, pp. 13-14.

3. Loc. cit.

4. Personality, Development and Assessment, p. 340.

5. "Theoretical Basis of Biotypology," Philosophy of Science, 10, (1943), pp. 131-140.

6. Ibid., p. 139.

field of typology.¹ He contrasts European and American systems and finds that "in Europe the stress has been rather on the general frame, the skeleton of character."² In the United States, he believes, the emphasis is on segmental analysis of traits and characteristics.

Cabot, in an investigation to test certain of the hypotheses of Kretschmer's typology, surveys the field of typology and discusses the difficulties inherent in any typological method.³

An intelligent analysis of the problems of types has been made by R.H.R. Edwards.⁴ He remarks that "their number and varied character illustrate the complexity of the general problem. It can be safely stated that the problem has been lifted from the realm of philosophic speculation to that of controlled experiment and coordinated investigation."⁵ However, lest we become too sanguine about the status of the problem, he says that the analysis of temperament and personality types is progressing slowly, and the "goal seems far distant. Towards it let us progress."⁶

1. J. Donceel, "European Characterology," Thought, 16, (1941), pp. 504-519.

2. Ibid., p. 504.

3. P.S. de Q. Cabot, "The Relationship Between Characteristics of Personality and Physique in Adolescents," Genetic Psychology Monographs, 20, (1938), pp. 7-22.

4. "Constitution and Temperament," Scientia, 53, (1937), pp. 272-284.

5. Ibid., p. 281.

6. Loc. cit.

A recent article by C. N. Winslow also underscores the importance of typology.¹ He decries the anecdotal approach and the inadequate conception of behavior of many typologists.

Hofstaetter presents a lengthy and impressive account of the rise of factor analysis and urges the desirability of using factor analysis in typology.² He also feels that a combination of statistics and factor analysis will produce a series of simple and workable systems of types.

The necessity for bridging the gaps between sweeping generalizations about people and isolated and separate statements about limited aspects of people is emphasized by Becker.³ He remarks that in sociology, many statements are made of such an order of generality as to be almost meaningless, while in experimental psychology limited areas of personality are tested and measured. He acknowledges the utility of the type concept as a desirable intermediate between the purely specific and the perfectly general.

Murphy comments on the importance of types in the growth of modern psychology. He says that "the conception (of types) is comparable to that of pure elements in pure compounds in chemistry...which constitute fundamental reference points for

1. "A Comparative Approach to Typology," Journal of General Psychology, 24, (1941), pp. 39-48.

2. P.R. Hofstaetter, "Ueber Typenanalyse," Archiv fuer die Gesamte Psychologie, 105, (1940), pp. 305-403.

3. H. Becker, "Constructive Typology in the Social Sciences," American Sociological Review, 5, (1940), pp. 40-55.

the understanding of the confused and amorphous realities, the mixtures and contaminations of which every day life is so full."¹

In an article on the criticism of the concept of types,² R. Melli dismisses all systems of typology. He quotes several studies of correlations among factors and says that factor analysis must be the basis for classification of personality.

The necessity for proper employment of statistics is also emphasized by the English psychologist Spearman, who indicates his respect for much of what the German typologists are doing and his belief that much of what they say may be true, although it is unproved.³ He contrasts the rich insights and many suggestions of the typologists with the often meaningless tables and charts of the trait-psychologists.

Herbert Shuey, an ardent defender of typologies, has maintained that typology is valuable because it focusses attention on the relatively permanent structure bases of individuality.⁴ He examines the usual criticisms of typology, that most typologists ignore the normal distribution curve, that most people are mixed and not pure types, that types vary with their

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1. G. Murphy, Historical Introduction to Modern Psychology. New York: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1949. P.xiv + 466. p.334.
 2. "Zur Kritik des Typenbegriffes," Schweizer Archiv fuer Neurologie und Psychiatrie, 48, (1944), pp. 71-82.
 3. C. Spearman, "German Science of Character.II. Approach from Typology," Character and Personality, 6, (1937), pp.36-49.
 4. "The Fundamental Principle of Typology," Psychological Review, 44, (1937), pp. 170-182.

specific environmental situations, and that organic changes with time change a person's type. Shuey feels that these objections are relevant but answerable. He says that a good deal of resistance to the concept of types is attributable to the confusion of phenomenological and structural analysis, and of dynamic and static traits. He believes the general overlapping and agreement of most types to be a strong argument in their favor.

Shuey pursues this idea in a thesis appearing several¹ years later. In this thesis he shows how the various dichotomies of personality types have been based on entirely different features of the personality, although they are essentially similar. He constructs a synthetic dichotomous typology which incorporates several of the earlier systems.

C.J. Brandenburg has given several reasons which lead² people to believe erroneously that they are discerning typologists. People reason by analogy, they associate physical symptoms and overt acts, and they misunderstand earlier scientific studies. He points out that people tend to see what they want to see and they tend to minimize contradictory evidence.

An ingenious use of the concept of psychological types has³ been made by the anthropologist Ralph Linton. He emphasizes

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1. H. Shuey, A Typological Approach to the Study of Human Behavior, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Kansas, 1940. P. 297. Also available through University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan.
 2. "Do Physical Traits Betray Character," Industrial Psychology, 1, (1926), pp. 641-646.
 3. The Study of Man. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. P. iii + 503. pp. 468-490.

the physiological bias of predisposition to a particular psychological type. The maladjustments which individuals face may be due to the lack of correspondence between an individual's psychological type and the status of personality which society allots to him, as well as to a lack of correspondence between the actual personality and the traits of the status personality. The status personality and the psychological type probably differ, as they rarely coincide in the same individual. The status personality is not as broad as the psychological type, but refers only to the elements in the latter which participate in the individual's social role. The status personality is social, while the psychological type is individual. Some psychological types seem better adapted to some kinds of status personalities than others. Linton feels, on the basis of his experience in many cultures, that the same psychological types appear in all societies, although the frequency of each type differs in different societies.

The famous American anthropologist, Franz Boas, remarked that "penetrating study shows...that certain groups of mankind are somewhat alike among themselves and differ more or less strikingly from other groups. These differences are sometimes quite considerable."¹

An archaeologist, V.A.Gorodzov, has stated that archaeology uses typology.² He emphasizes that typology is particularly

1. The Mind of Primitive Man. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1938. P. x + 285. p. 35.

2. "The Typological Method in Archaeology," American Anthropologist, 35, (1933), pp. 95-102.

used in Europe, and will probably remain important as a tool of research.

R.W. Washburn studied infants who were between eight weeks and a year old.¹ He found that in response to a great variety of stimuli, the children fell into two distinct types: the inveterate weepers and the inveterate laughers. His conclusion was that these two classes of infants were definite response types, which would continue to react in the same way in later life.

It has been suggested by many writers that pathology and types are related.² Franz Alexander, the psychoanalyst, and George Draper,³ founder of the New York Constitution Clinic, have, although from different angles, attempted to prove the idea that different types of people are prone to different diseases.

L.P. Thorpe expresses a popular point of view when he comments that "the problem of describing character and personality organization can hardly be solved by resorting to the postulation of so-called 'psychological types.'⁴" To Thorpe,

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1. "A Study of the Laughing and Smiling of Infants in the First Year of Life," Genetic Psychology Monographs, 5-6, (1929), pp. 396-535.
 2. F. Alexander, "The Influence of Psychologic Factors Upon Gastro-Intestinal Disturbances: A Symposium," Psychoanalytic Quarterly, 3, (1934), pp. 501-539.
 3. G. Draper, Disease and the Man.
 4. Psychological Foundations of Personality. New York and London: McGraw Hill Company, 1938. P. xiii + 602. p. 325.

types are special groupings of specific-trait actions and are subject to severe limitations when used as attempted descriptions of integrated behavior. Thorpe feels that typology "in its naive aspects ... is ... a priori trait consistency with a vengeance. Assuming as it does, the existence of fixed constellations of so-called 'personality traits', this position perpetrates the fallacy of calling such traits into being by fiat; it suggests that we can create these traits ... by the simple expediency of naming them."¹

He comments that it is impossible to separate the situation from the personality and that it is erroneous to assume that the average person can be studied by typological methods. Thorpe quotes one of Thorndike's findings that most abilities are unimodal, or of one mediocre type.² Thorpe implies from this that "people are as a whole of one type - the mediocre - and that individuals falling some distance on either side of the central point of the distribution curve are merely variations from the central tendency."³ He admits the value of typology as an aid to brevity, but cautions that brevity is always second to clearness and accuracy. He suggests the possibility of using the word "extreme" instead

1. Ibid., p. 314.

2. E.L. Thorndike, Educational Psychology, 1914 edition, chapters 15 and 16.

3. Thorpe, op. cit., p. 315.

of "type" on the assumption that the extremes in a distribution possess contrasting but identifiable traits. Intermediate people would then be graded in relation to the extremes. Also, just as verbal and arithmetical abilities are often found in specific trait clusters, so it may be possible to establish that different groups can be classified in terms of temperament types.¹

Thorpe warns that the difficulties of typology cannot be overcome by providing handy overflow types. He emphasizes that all types will tend to respond in mixed-type ways if they are stimulated by highly diverse conditions. "They may be characterized by fairly consolidated groupings of habits, but they too are subject to the fundamental axiom of the environmentalist that all responses are a function, at least in part, of the specific stimulating situations eliciting them."² To Thorpe, trait constellations must always remain collections of specifics.

W.I. Thomas and F. Znaniecki, in writing their monumental study of The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, found it necessary to use the concept of psychological types. They divided people into the three types: the philistine or practical man, the bohemian seeker for new experience, and the creative man.

1. Thorpe, op. cit., pp. 314-316.

2. Ibid., p. 319.

Their use of types is notable because their book has had great influence on method in the social sciences; so much so that it is the subject of the Social Science Research Council's¹ first inquiry into methodology.

H. Vaihinger in his Philosophy of 'As If' suggests that psychological types may be considered in the nature of "fictions" or ideas which aid thinking, although they do not correspond to reality.² They help us to deal with and to grasp reality. He suggests that types may possibly be classed as "hypotheses," which are slightly more real than "fictions." Vaihinger's concept of "fictions" is reminiscent of La Fontaine's description of a fable as a lie that tells the truth.³

The great psychologist and pioneer investigator of individual differences, Francis Galton, in his presidential address to the British Association for the Advancement of Science, spoke of types when he remarked that "I propose to speak of the study of the groups of men who are sufficiently familiar in their mental characters ... to admit of classification. I specially desire to show that many methods exist of pursuing the inquiry in a strictly scientific manner ..."⁴

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1. Herbert Blumer, The Polish Peasant. New York: Social Science Research Council, Critique Number 1, 1939. P. xi + 210.
 2. H. Vaihinger, The Philosophy of 'As If': A System of the Theoretical, Practical, and Religious Fictions of Mankind, p.26.
 3. Quoted by D.A. Stauffer, "The Modern Myth of the Modern Myth," in English Institute Essays, p. 23.
 4. Nature, 16, (1877), pp. 344-345.

The eminent French sociologist Gustave Le Bon, creator of the concept of the crowd mind, called for a workable typology in the same year.¹

Commencing in 1925, an annual yearbook of typology edited by E. Utitz, a Swiss psychologist, was published in Europe at irregular intervals up to 1938.²

An appraisal of the relationship between typology and personality was made by I. Chein.³ He remarks on the difficulty of appraising personality through behavior, and defines personality as a system of perpetuated motives. He underscores the necessity for typologies for classification purposes, but indicates that it is necessary to decide whether it is desired to type persons, or behaviors, or personalities. Chein says that typology has had two approaches: pure typology based on inverted factor analysis, and typology of persons or of behavior.

It is necessary to distinguish between behavior and personality, says Chein, because the same personality may lend itself to opposing manifestations of behavior, while different personalities may lend themselves to the same manifestations of behavior. His criteria for a typology are that the variables

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1. "Sur l'Etude du Caractère," Revue Philosophique, 4, (1877), p.509.
 2. Jahrbuch der Charakterologie.
 3. "Personality and Typology," Journal of Social Psychology, 18, (1943), pp. 89-111.

of a system be concerned with internal psychological conditions of behavior, that the system be universally applicable, and that the system be unequivocal in its phraseology. With the present trend toward emphasis on uniqueness and individual differences, the possibility of a systematic description of personalities becomes increasingly distant.

Chein's immediate goal for typology is the discovery of a group of unequivocal variables that can do justice to the variety and range of human personality. He comments that "it does matter that students of the psychology of personality occupy themselves with the study of systems of motives. If the study ... offers difficulties, it is of no avail to ignore the difficulties..."¹ Chein concludes that "... difficulties ... do not justify the ignoring of a field of research ... traditional objections to the typological approach are not valid; ... the typological approach is both useful and feasible."²

H. Kluever has long been an outstanding student of typological concepts. After surveying the contemporary systems, he concluded that "behavior units comprising disparate variables are the chief concern of many psychologists. Since such behavior units exist, a typological psychology must be developed."³

1. Ibid., p. 109.

2. Loc. cit.

3. "Do Personality Types Exist," American Journal of Psychiatry, 10, (1931), p. 788.

In an article on typology as a method, Kluever emphasizes¹ that many types are obtained empirically. He states that a system of typology can be validated by the use of statistics, biochemistry, or of sensory physiology, depending on the nature of the type. He holds that the typological method can do things which no other method can do. He compares the phenomena which are brought into sharp relief by typologies to the phenomena which are brought into focus by staining biological specimens on slides. We must realize, he says, that the typological method helps in studying certain phenomena, even though we may have misgivings about some of its implications.

Kluever says that the ambiguities resulting from the question of the existence of types may blind us to the actual empirical usefulness of the typological method. The range of human personalities is so immense that every conceivable dimension of personality may exist and may lend itself to examination and elucidation, by some method. Kluever reiterates that the phenomena which become visible by the typological method are not the same as those which become visible through psychometrics, but that typology concentrates on action systems, the behavior of which can be expressed in a general formula.

The objection that types blur the concrete and the individual is a valid one. But this very defocalization implies that another group of phenomena is brought into focus by the typological method.

1. H. Kluever, "Typological Method," in S.A. Rice, editor, Methods in Social Science, pp. 176-185.

Kluever compares questions on the frequency of typologies to questions about the frequency of the general relativity theory. That is, the theory of relativity and particular theories of types will eventually be proved or disproved. He remarks that by its very nature, the methodology of psychology must remain varied. If we observe that certain dynamic systems exist which cannot be related mathematically, we must see if typology can be used. It is impossible to think of methodology as something divorced from facts and from the material at hand.

Kluever compares personality to a complex function system in which F is a function of $(A, B, C, D, \dots)$, and where, in turn, A is a function of $(a_1, a_2, a_3, a_4, \dots)$, and where a_1, a_2, a_3, a_4 are themselves complex. We have thus an entity which is so involved that it must be attacked by both empirical and nonempirical methods. He concludes by saying that a typology is more than a working hypothesis, and the typological method involves empirical function systems, as we find them in a group of action systems in the field of psychology.

Sheldon, whose researches on typology have attracted considerable attention, speaks of

the concept of types ... useful in the study of personality, but, like the poles supporting a clothesline, it provides only end suspensions for distributive classifications. As the line becomes filled, the notion of types recedes and finally vanishes altogether, perhaps submerged under a smooth distribution. Yet at the outset a concept of types is a necessity.¹

1. W. H. Sheldon, S.S. Stevens, and W.B. Tucker, The Varieties of Human Physique, An Introduction to Constitutional Psychology, p. 27.

Murphy and Jensen point to the strong affinity between Gestalt psychology and typology: both say that the whole determines its parts.¹ Every habit or trait must be defined with reference to the large whole of the personality. They see the key question in typology to be whether or not there are systems of traits which hang together so that the presence of a given trait in a specific situation makes possible the determination of what will happen in different situations.

They feel that the evidence available (in 1932) is insufficient to confirm or deny this hypothesis. They refer to the Character Education Inquiry.² In this study, the experimenters measured the degree of generosity in many situations, as well as the variations in this generosity from year to year. They came to the conclusion that there is not a "generous" type, and that generosity in one situation is not closely related to generosity in other situations. In the case of the extremely generous children, only slightly better than chance expectancy was obtained in predicting their actions. In a subsequent study, these authors found that environmental factors seemed to be of great importance in determining the degree of character consistency exhibited.³

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1. G. Murphy and F. Jensen, Approaches to Personality: Some Contemporary Conceptions Used in Psychology and Psychiatry, p.32.
 2. H. Hartshorne, M.A. May, J.B. Maller, Studies in Service and Self-Control.
 3. H. Hartshorne, M.A. May, F.K. Shuttleworth, Studies in the Organization of Character.

They found that, in general, children from semi-rural backgrounds showed consistency of character, while in semi-slum neighborhoods there was almost no change in consistency.

Hartshorne and May, however, say that "we would not wish to quarrel over the use of a term and are quite ready to recognize the existence of some common factors which tend to make individuals differ from one another on any one test or on any group of tests."¹ They do recognize the probability that with maturity and with the acceptance of social conventions, people may slowly achieve an integration of behavior that approximates consistency. They claim that the behavior of children is mainly specific but they do not assert that adult behavior is characterized by lack of integration. They have made it clear that trait consistency is a function of maturity and experience.

Traits and Types

Considerable discussion has centered on the degree to which types are more than bundles of traits. There has been a great deal of speculation on this subject, but comparatively few empirical researches. H.J. Eysenck says that although the large number of theories which has emerged in the last few decades has stimulated much interest in the scientific study of character and personality, most of these studies have been

1. H. Hartshorne and M. A. May, Studies in Deceit, p. 385.

so divorced from experimental control that ruthless discarding¹ of most of them appears to be necessary.

Guthrie has vigorously championed the view that types do not exist, and that personality is not an enduring structure² so much as it is an aggregation of stimulus-response elements. This theory is probably related to Thorndike's early work on transfer of training,³ with its emphasis on separateness of traits, and it finds experimental support in the Character Education Inquiry mentioned above. Guthrie feels that "the influence of old theological notions concerning the soul may⁴ well be present" in the (type) kind of attack on the problem. He is interested in a practical approach to understanding man, and feels that a sound description of personality traits must be based on learning theory rather than on typologies.

Guthrie says that the detailed muscular contractions by which a man acts honestly or dishonestly have, regrettably, not interested psychologists, and thus led to a neglect of "the most important aspect of personality - how acts are⁵ learned." This point of view holds that all "deep and lasting dispositions" of personality and types of personality "must be

1. H.J. Eysenck, Dimensions of Personality, p. ix.

2. E.R. Guthrie, "Personality in Terms of Associative Learning," in J. McV. Hunt, editor, Personality and the Behavior Disorders, Volume 1, pp. 49-68.

3. E. L. Thorndike, Educational Psychology, pp. 186-257.

4. Guthrie, op. cit., p. 49.

5. Ibid., p. 50.

treated in terms of stimulus, movement, and association."¹

When people perform as they might be expected to perform, then the concept of learned habits is sufficient to explain this consistency. A person's reaction to any situation depends on his experience and the associations of that situation. "When we know how men adjust themselves through learning to their situation, and know also the situations to which they have been exposed, have the record of their adjustment, we know the men themselves."² Guthrie feels that it is "profitless to speculate concerning the deeper reaches of the soul until we can explore these with similar knowledge."³

Several researchers have reported that upon experimental investigation, personality did appear to show a certain generality rather than a series of single trait reactions.⁴

H.J. Eysenck suggests that the question should not be phrased as an either-or dichotomy, but should be asked in terms of how specific and how general.⁵

In discussing traits and types, E.L. Thorndike says that most proofs of the nature of the distribution of any variable are circular.⁶ It is possible to arrange a series of problems

1. Ibid., p. 51.

2. Ibid., p. 66.

3. Loc. cit.

4. R. H. Wheeler, The Science of Psychology, pp. 507-511.

5. "General Social Attitudes," Journal of Social Psychology, 19, (1944), pp. 207-227.

6. The Measurement of Intelligence, pp. 135-160.

on a test of personality in such a way that a bimodal, a multimodal, a skewed, normal, or a rectangular distribution of raw scores would result. Thorndike comments that the fact that many questionnaires appear to give normal distributions when analyzed may be due to the fact that the trait measured is normally distributed or it may be attributable to the fact that questions pertaining to different and unrelated systems of types are included, or to a halo effect covering any real differences, or to the effect of specific and error factors. Eysenck remarks that the considerations advanced by Thorndike "make us chary of accepting a view which would differentiate between traits and types on the basis of unimodal or bimodal distribution of scores."¹

Eysenck says that "we shall speak of 'Types' as observed constellations or syndromes of traits, and of 'Traits' as observed constellations of individual action-tendencies..."²

He emphasizes that "we make the distinction between types and traits not in terms of their distribution, but in terms of their relative inclusiveness as determined experimentally."³

After a discussion of the necessity for factor analysis in type and trait investigation, Eysenck comments that in order to obtain any degree of precision, it will be necessary to

1. H. J. Eysenck, Dimensions of Personality, p. 27.

2. Ibid., p. 28.

3. Loc. cit.

change our stock of psychological and psychiatric terms, with their many connotations and emotional meanings, into operationally defined symbols.

Ross Stagner describes the different points of view about a type classification as being dichotomous and trichotomous, which assume that the population is divided into two or three groups respectively, as opposed to the normal Gaussian distribution of traits in the population which is advanced by the trait theorists.¹

Stagner points to the apparent impasse between trait theory and type theory, with the trait theorists insisting on the normal distribution of personal characteristics, while the type theorists insist that they found certain tendencies clustering in patterns which do not conform to the normal curve.² He remarks on the evident inclination of type theory to be favorable to an emphasis on heredity, even when there are no explicit assumptions about the role of the environment. Stagner emphasizes the value for abnormal psychology of the conception of types as special cases which illuminate milder trends in the general population. He also emphasizes the manner in which typologies have served a useful purpose by their emphasis on the extent to which the parts of personality are determined by the whole.³

1. Psychology of Personality, p. 242.

2. Ibid., p. 243.

3. Ibid., p. 255.

Stagner remarks that "the very multiplicity of type theories,¹ however, belies their general applicability." He feels that if there were a "universal system of typing which would fit a substantial number of cases or throw special light upon personality organization it would be espoused by a greater number of psychologists."²

L.M. Hanks, Jr. conducted a study to determine the empirical value of several type systems.³ He gave to a group of experienced psychologists case histories of a group of subjects and the scores made by these subjects on various tests of neuroticism and personality. The psychologists were asked to predict each subject's score on the tests on the basis of the case history. In other instances, the psychologists were asked to categorize the subjects into types, and then to make predictions of scores. In both procedures, the psychologists were able to make various predictions accurately.

The use of types, however, either spontaneously selected by a judge, or selected from a list of types, did not improve the accuracy of the predictions. The judges showed slight agreement in choice of types for a given person, and they apparently went back to specific evidence in the case histories

1. Ibid., p. 256.

2. Loc. cit.

3. L. M. Hanks, Jr., "Prediction from Case Material to Personality Test Data: A Methodological Study of Types," Archives of Psychology, 29, Number 207, (1936), pp. 1-71.

when making predictions, rather than basing them on necessary interconnections existing for a type of any special kind.

Another approach to the trait-type controversy was made¹ by the British psychologist Stephenson. He pointed out that type theories are especially concerned with the relative strengths within the individual of his various traits, while trait theory has concerned itself with comparisons on a single trait within a population. Thus, two individuals might have the same standing within a group with respect to one trait, yet might differ in general type. This characteristic might be outstanding in one and subordinate in another. Conversely, two individuals may conceivably have the same type pattern with their traits having the same overall relationship of prominence and subordination. These two individuals might differ, however, in the absolute strength of all their traits as compared with a normative population.

Stephenson suggests the necessity for a technique to determine types objectively. He proposes that this be done by measuring the relative strengths of specified traits of various individuals and correlating each person with a standard person, selected as a true representative of his type. He comments that the proper application of this method in type research should end many of the arguments over the existence of types. Unfortunately, his suggestions have not been followed and little research of this kind has been done.

1. W. Stephenson, "Correlating Persons Instead of Tests," Character and Personality, 4, (1935), pp. 295-304.

G.W. Allport has also contrasted the theory of traits and the doctrine of types.¹ People have traits, but they fit types. This phraseology indicates to Allport that types do not exist in people or nature so much as they do in the eye of the observer. Types include more than the individual has, while traits are within the individual. In types, a biosocial reference point to some abstracted attribute is necessary. Allport feels that all typologies represent artificial categories, because the very systems which represent themselves as being basic seem to contradict each other.

Allport is concerned about the fate of the individual in the face of the many systems of typology. He lands in one compartment in one system and in another compartment in another system. Allport emphasizes the "integral neuropsychic makeup" of individual people, which should, in his eyes, be central in personality study. He traces the vogue of typology to the influence of psychiatry, especially of Kraepelin, with his interest in the classification of mental disease. Allport says that psychology should be studying the individual's traits to see what they signify in his own life. He says that whatever information is gained through the use of typologies will appear, more significantly, when the individual's traits are analyzed.

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Harold Rugg presents an opposing viewpoint. He shows how typology has been used in America ever since William James'

1. Personality, A Psychological Interpretation, pp. 295-297.

2. Foundations for American Education, pp. 174-176.

distinction between the "tough minded" and the "tender minded." Rugg suggests that even though the descriptive terms used in typologies are not defined by precise quantitative techniques, they are valuable tools. "We've all seen them, even recognize ourselves in them."¹

Sheldon and Stevens attempt to combine trait theory and type theory.² In their well-known work, some sixty traits are said to define a personality. Some of their traits have polar antitheses, although many do not. Some trimodal traits appear in their list.³ Sheldon and Stevens studied 200 young men over a five year period, and found the three general temperamental types of viscerotonia, somatotonia, and cerebrotonia. They reported that in the development of a personality, the following general factors seem to be formative: the total strength of each of the three primary temperamental components, the quality of this endowment, the relative strength of the components, and the incompatibilities between morphology and overt temperament.

Sheldon feels that typology's importance is unquestionable, for "if human beings can be described in terms of their most deep-seated similarities and differences, it may prove

1. Ibid., p. 176.

2. W. H. Sheldon and S.S. Stevens, The Varieties of Temperament: A Psychology of Constitutional Differences.

3. Ibid., p. 26.

not impossible to differentiate between heredity and the effects of environment."¹ This differentiation, when achieved, would give the needed leverage for an attack on many social problems, even such problems as the isolation and elimination of cancer. "We accept the thesis . . . that psychology may rightfully be charged with the task of trying to identify . . . the elemental or primary components² of human variation."

Sheldon feels that the richness of potential variables in human personality has blinded students to the basic similarities in personality. He based his personality ratings on a series of twenty analytic interviews with the subjects, extending over a year. These subjects were watched carefully at their regular jobs during this year. Trait intercorrelations were calculated regularly and repeatedly until the tri-polar typology was finally developed. Sheldon feels that his own results are definite forward steps in creating a useable typology. He feels there is almost no limit to what a really scientific typology can do. We must learn to classify men and learn to tell them apart as kinds and types. We must ignore superficialities and fasten attention on the basic variables of a science of individual differences. The kind of individual involved in any situation must be considered before we can make any meaningful generalizations about people.

1. Ibid., p. ix.

2. Loc. cit.

Sheldon emphasizes that the study of typology need not, as it has in the past, underemphasize the effect of environmental influences. The study of temperament reported by Sheldon was begun before his morphological investigations were undertaken, and independently of them. The aim of his typology, according to Sheldon, is to "develop every individual according to the best potentialities of his own nature, while protecting him from the fatal frustration of a false persona and false ambitions. This is not fatalism, but naturalism."¹ If typology, whether it be Sheldon's or any other, can indeed help achieve this goal, it must be regarded as a worthwhile tool.

H.A. Murray and his collaborators have deplored the peripheralist emphasis on the gross physical patterns of overt² behavior and the joining of reflexes to form complex entities. Murray remarks that "at every stage in the growth of a science, there is, it seems, an appropriate balance between broad speculation and detailed measurement."³ He points out that in the infancy of a young science like psychology ". . . a few mastering generalizations can be more effective in advancing knowledge than a mass of carefully compiled data. For in the wake of intuition comes investigation directed at crucial problems rather than mere unenlightened fact-collecting."⁴

1. Ibid., p. 438.

2. Explorations in Personality: A Clinical and Experimental Study of Fifty Men of College Age.

3. Ibid., p. 21.

4. Loc. cit.

Murray compares psychology to ". . . living, which has been defined by Samuel Butler as 'the art of drawing sufficient conclusions from insufficient premises.'¹"

Although Murray, in order to remove the influence of past connotations from the thinking of his colleagues, devised a new and specialized vocabulary for his concepts, it is possible to recognize, among the dimensions of personality he and his co-workers examined, several elements taken from a number of typologies. He includes typologies as legitimate techniques² of personology, or the science of personality.

The advocates of the trait theory, which is probably one of the most pervasive theories of personality in American psychology, often use an argument which is relevant to type theory: that generality of behavior accounts for the homogeneity of personality found by type theorists. Typologists would say that the generality of the specific behavior is along the specific axes of the specific typological system. Personality³ tempo⁴, nervous habits⁵, attitudes have been investigated and found to be generalized rather than specific.

1. Ibid., p. 22.

2. Ibid., pp. 142-242.

3. F. Braun, "Untersuchungen ueber das persoenliche Tempo," Archiv fuer die Gesamte Psychologie, 60, (1927), pp. 317-360.

4. W.C. Olson, "The Measurement of Nervous Habits in Normal Children," University of Minnesota Child Welfare Monograph Series, Number 3, 1929. P. xi + 97.

5. H. Cantril, "General and Specific Attitudes," Psychological Monographs, 42, Whole Number 192, (1932), P. 109.

The matching method has also been used with great success by many investigators to indicate generality of personality. In this method, judges are presented with various kinds of expression or aspects of personality obtained from different subjects unknown to the judges. Pictures of the subject's profile, his voice recordings, and handwriting specimens, story telling techniques of the subject, and artistic creations of the subject are often employed. The judges are asked to put together the items obtained from one person. Should the matching of items be better than chance, it is presumably due to the judges' perception of a form of personal consistency. P.E. Vernon has summarized a number of these studies and confirmed that general¹ity and consistency do predominate. This is akin to the typologists' claim that personality is consistent and determined by general orientation rather than specific factors.

Coffin comments that "the idea that personalities, temperaments and characters naturally fall into certain classifications is very old. The effort to discover the principles according to which a classification could be made has resulted in a bewildering array of typologies."² He points out that contemporary attempts at typology have a great advantage in the many related fields which are doing relevant research. He remarks that

1. "The Matching Method Applied to Investigations of Personality," Psychological Bulletin, 33, (1936), pp. 149-177.

2. J. H. Coffin, The Psychology of Personality, p. 20.

typology must take account of the process and degree of maturation.¹ He comments that "there is value in the typological approach," and that the typological movement has "served as valuable hypothesis in the historical development of the psychology of personality; the nomothetic stage."²

W. H. Burnham reminds us that "it should be remembered that in all distinction of types we are merely dealing with individual differences and rough division into classes . . . It is merely a matter of making some classifications as an economic device. Usually it is convenient to make these rough divisions into so-called types."³ After quoting several studies of types in children, he remarks that "this difference of type is so well marked, in many cases at least, that after a little practice one observes it at a glance. Even children do this, and the nicknames given by the children are likely to fit the type."⁴

Burnham gives practical suggestions for handling children of the various types and remarks on the value of an understanding of typology for mental hygiene. He cautions that "in applying the results of such observations in the practical work of education and hygiene it may well be remembered that

1. Ibid., pp. 20-31.

2. Ibid., p. 31.

3. The Wholesome Personality: A Contribution to Mental Hygiene, p. 129.

4. Ibid., p. 130.

extreme cases of such types are not the common ones . . . and that most people belong to the mixed type or have merely certain marks of one type or the other."¹ He lists the value of the types to be: helping the teacher to adapt the pupil's task to his personality, throwing light on disciplinary problems, protecting the child from possible influence of an undesirable type among his classmates, and showing the child's predilection for specific diseases.²

He cautions that "here, as everywhere, the danger of making idols of the types is obvious. Like the mental tests, the classification according to types is an excellent servant but a bad master."³

Burnham points to the many types which have little or no apparent utility. The psychoanalyst W. Stekel, for example, divides all human beings and animals into two types, the patient and the impatient. Types are not fixed, but mobile concepts. They may be of great value in providing suggestion and prevision, so long as the provisional nature of the type is kept in mind.⁴

A. A. Roback has long stood for the doctrine of type consistency.⁵ He says that an individual's personality is

1. Ibid., p. 165.

2. Ibid., pp. 165-166.

3. Ibid., p. 167.

4. Ibid., pp. 167-168.

5. Psychology of Character, Chapters 25-28.

centered around his tendency to behave in characteristic ways. He believes the urge to consistency is inborn and is the "center of gravity" which determines the personality.

W. D. Commins comments that "the question of types of mentality was formerly of greater interest to psychology than at the present time, although it is experiencing something of a revival in discussions of personality traits."¹ He says that in the case of a small number of factors, the concept of types may be helpful. It is necessary to consider the effect of compensatory devices which may operate to influence the theoretical distinctions based on typologies. For example, a child lacking some form of visual imagery, in studying geometry, may substitute another form, like motor or kinesthetic imagery, and thus make any classification of the child on the basis of visual imagery seriously incomplete.²

However, Commins notes that "certain human traits can be regarded as patterns of specific behavior tendencies."³ Although each such tendency might have a normal variation, ". . . it might also be true that there would be a relatively small variety of such patterns, which then could be considered as types."⁴ The more qualitative insights of typologies may yet

1. Principles of Educational Psychology. New York: Ronald Press Company, 1937. P.v + 596. p.64.

2. Ibid., pp. 64-65.

3. Ibid., p. 64.

4. Loc. cit.

prove to be of considerable importance in personality study.

L.F. Shaffer says that "a very natural tendency is to classify all mankind into various types."¹ Shaffer notes that in personality research, "where quantitative measurement has been slow in development, the habit of dividing people into types has been especially prevalent and persistent."² He feels that centuries of belief in types have affected social tradition. He believes that the acceptance given recent typologies is probably due in part to a continuation of ancient and medieval ways of thinking, and says that it is almost impossible to enumerate the large number of typologies which have been promulgated in the last few years.

Shaffer warns that in discussion of types, it is essential not to confuse cause and effect.³ If an individual, for example, regularly shows withdrawal behavior in adjustment situations, this is not because he natively belongs to a withdrawing type, but because he has learned to utilize the form of adjustment which he displays, rather than other kinds. In Shaffer's eyes, the discussions of typology have had great effect in leading to the intensive study of traits. He says that trait testing was begun to meet two objections to type theories: that a type is a partial picture of personality, and that

1. Psychology of Adjustment. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1937, P.xv + 582. p. 284.

2. Loc. cit.

3. Ibid., pp. 284-291.

differences between types are quantitative and not qualitative.

P. Schilder is skeptical of all typologies, and wants "to emphasize that the outward situation and the reaction of the individual are indivisible sides of experience." The different types of human beings, as far as one can ascertain the existence of such types at all, have merely different worlds before them and have different attitudes.¹

P.A. Bertocci has emphasized the extent to which typology has been attacked.² He suggests that possibly all typological classification is essentially arbitrary, and that sacrificing personality uniqueness to convenience has not been too fruitful when the personality was forced into the investigator's special interest. He holds that the search for common functions among complex individuals may have beguiled typologists into concentrating attention on the more easily observable traits and avoiding less tangible characteristics. He compares typologists to people who enter the house of personality from the accessible first story, hoping that within, they would find an escalator to take them upstairs. Bertocci feels that there are always elements of the variety and individuality of personality that will not be included in a typology.

He does admit that typologies have been valuable in dispelling the idea that people are bundles of elements reacting to stimuli. They have pointed up the hypothesis that human

1. Psychotherapy. New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1938.
P. x + 344. p. 97.

2. P.A. Bertocci, "Personality," in P.L. Harriman, editor, Encyclopaedia of Psychology. New York: Philosophical Library, 1946. P.vii + 897.
pp. 455-477.

nature has certain permanent determinants. Although people differ from each other, they have certain generic and innate similarities. Typologies have drawn attention to the problems of what constants there are, how constant they may be, and to what extent they change.

Schreider prefaces his three volume study of typologies by remarking that "up to the fairly recent future, the scholars who devoted themselves to the study of human personality were devoted to the idea of discovering general laws, applicable to everyone. In this way they neglected the diversity of types . . ."¹ He points out that toward the end of the last century, psychologists became more sensible and realized that a happy medium must be found between mere fact accumulation and universal laws. This in-between concept was the concept of types, which were based on characteristics possessed in common by many people. In effect, in order to form a typology, it is necessary to select a certain number of distinctive characteristics.

He discusses the often-repeated complaint that there are, essentially, only individuals and type classifications are neither accurate nor scientifically profitable. Schreider admits that some typologies are only partial, but remarks that they can be so illuminating that whatever distortions they may make are counterbalanced by these insights.

1. E. Schreider, Les Types Humains, Volume 1, p. 7.

Schreider holds that it is erroneous to lump all typologies together in one category and to condemn or accept them in toto. "Their intrinsic importance is very unequal. Some only present an historical interest, others appear to be promising and only the future will show their real worth. Between these extremes, are many which are solidly established, though incomplete."¹ In other words, no classification should be regarded as definitive. Everywhere, side by side with very interesting insights, are gaps and uncertainties. This situation, says Schreider, calls more for prudence than for skepticism.

He quotes the Italian typologist Brocca to the effect that in experimental science, the conceptualization of groups preceeds the exact knowledge of the elements which compose the groups. This injunction is relevant to most of the modern typologies. In short, there is nothing immutable and fixed in this field, for in this area as in others, science moves forward by successive approximations.

If we assume an attitude of intelligent relativism, it would be wise not to let this become, says Schreider, an attitude of simple negation. Our lack of knowledge may well be due not to error in formulating the typology but to an insufficient number of confirming researches or to a lack of researches which utilize good techniques. Without minimizing the great importance

1. Ibid., p. 9.

of experience and observation, quantification of data and the use of mathematics and statistics may be of great value here.

It would appear, says Schreider, that a familiarity with the results obtained in this field should be a prerequisite for other personality research. Even the knowledge that certain errors have been made in the past is important. He gives as a guiding principle of typology the incorporation of all relevant facts. Scientific impartiality is very important in the face of the emotionalism and extraneous connotations which many typologies have provoked in the past.¹

Kimball Young comments that "the very recurrence of like conduct and of like circumstances provide the framework for some sort of generalization into class terms."² He says, like Burnham,³ that even little children put people into types: those who treat the infant kindly and those who do not. Most popular types, Young says, can be dismissed as stereotypes. He feels that some kind of typification is inevitable. He considers several systems of typology and finds many of them very valuable, remarking that "certain sociologists and anthropologists, especially those with an interest in social psychology, have been increasingly concerned

1. Ibid., pp. 5-10.

2. Personality and Problems of Adjustment, p. 301.

3. W.H. Burnham, The Wholesome Personality: A Contribution to Mental Hygiene, p. 130.

with an analysis of the dispositional or temperamental qualities of men who live in varied social-cultural environments."¹

He notes the importance of studying the relation of personality type to social role, as an important theoretical and practical problem.² May some types be better suited to certain roles than to others? To what extent is social adaptation itself facilitated or hindered by the failure of the individual and society to observe these differences? Studying this aspect of typology, may throw light on many aspects of vocational adjustment, the appeals of various religious faiths, family relations, and leisure-time activities. In this connection, H.D.Lasswell has correlated political agitators, administrators, and bureaucrats to different psychological types.³

Young, after discussing typologies, asks if the concept of type is a valid one. He says that a type is a construct which may be of value for theoretical and systematic considerations, and a basis for an empirical and experimental approach to personality. "Typification of mind and behavior makes possible comparisons among individuals as unified organizations, which is not possible when we treat only particularized elements... It may well be contended that typification and comparison are among the fundamental tasks of sound science."⁴

1. Ibid., p. 325.

2. This is analogous to the anthropologist R.Linton's use of the concept of the status personality.

3. Psychopathology and Politics.

4. Ibid., p. 329.

A combination of clinical empiricism and statistical method in creating typologies may prove to be of great value, if it is constantly checked and re-checked. Here, as so often, we must be careful, says Young, to remember that we see things not as they are, but as we are. If we are to advance the hoped-for science of personality, we must realize that the very uniformity and variation which we find in nature and personality indicate the need for some sort of typology. He points out that current psychological types are still crude formulations, although they are useful and suggestive beginnings toward developing "an adequate set of criteria and a satisfactory method..."¹ He hopes that typologies "in time will provide the much-needed generalizations and hence usefulness for prediction and control."²

J. Zubin has maintained that many of the statistical techniques used to disprove typologies have been used naively.³ Many personality tests are constructed on the theory of the normal probability curve. This alone will tend to lead to a continuous normal Gaussian curve rather than to bimodal or multimodal distributions. Zubin cautions that "the continuity in distribution may have been a result of the logical consistency of the scoring key rather than of the behavior of human beings."⁴

1. Ibid., p. 336.

2. Loc.cit.

3. J. Zubin, "Socio-Psychological Types and Methods of Their Isolation," Psychiatry, 1, (1938), pp. 237-247.

4. Ibid., p. 239.

Summary

Typologies have been promulgated and used for many years. Opinions about their validity and usefulness have ranged from enthusiastic and uncritical acceptance to caustic and devastating comments and assertions that types actually do not exist. There has been a sharp division of opinion between trait and type theories of personality. Trait theorists hold that personality is a collection of traits, which can be studied individually, and that these traits explain personality adequately, without the introduction of the concept of types. Type theorists believe that segmental trait analysis can never explain the broad patterns and consistency which personality exhibits, and that the concept of types is necessary to give an adequate description of the dynamic and integrating elements of personality.

CHAPTER III
1
THE TYPOLOGY OF FREUD

Sigmund Freud, the founder of psychoanalysis, was born in Czechoslovakia in 1859 and died in London in 1939. He saw his theories accepted over a good part of the world and weather the storms of great criticism. Jung, Adler, Rank and Reich were students of Freud who dissociated themselves from Freud and struck out on their own. In 1908, Freud published his famous paper on the anal character, thus starting psycho-analytic typology.² Freud's typology has always been regarded as one of his most remarkable achievements. His disciples used his leads and have constantly been expanding and revising his typology up to the present.

Freud postulated that there are three stages of psycho-sexual growth: oral, anal, and genital. In this development, progress to a higher level is never complete, and the characteristics of the earlier level persist to some extent. Freud likens this progression to the advance of an army into enemy territory, leaving occupation troops behind at all important points. If the occupation troops left behind are strong, then

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1. Thanks are due the Human Relations Area Files, Incorporated, of Yale University at New Haven, Connecticut, for the use of its files in collecting material for this chapter.
 2. "Character and Anal Erotism," in Sigmund Freud, Collected Papers. Translated by J. Riviere. London: L. and V. Woolf, 1922. P. 402.

the army that marches forward is weak. If the advancing army meets a powerful enemy force, it may retreat to the point at which it has previously left the most powerful occupation troops.¹

Some of the most notable advances in the psychoanalytic typology were made by Karl Abraham of Berlin, a special favorite of Freud's, whom Freud was grooming to succeed himself as the possible leader of psychoanalysis. Abraham's early death cut short a career which had already given examples of brilliance. He took hints and suggestions of Freud in the field of typology and gave them form and substance. Abraham's papers are models of brevity and clarity. Writing in 1916, he said that the pathological cases with which he had worked, served to highlight processes which were operative but not noticeable in normal persons.² Abraham said that he was forced to adopt the oral-anal-genital system as a result of the clinical observations which preceded the theory.

The Oral Type

Writing on the oral character, Abraham discusses a case of dementia praecox in which the mouth was all-important to the patient, and his libido was orally fixated.³ He loved to drink

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1. C. Fenichel, The Psychoanalytic Theory of Neurosis. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1945. P. 703. p. 65.
 2. K. Abraham, Selected Papers. Translated by D. Bryan and A. Strachey. London: L. and V. Woolf, 1927. P. 527. pp. 248-279.
 3. Loc. cit.

milk, which reminded him of breast sucking. His conception of loving somebody was to eat something good. Abraham also discusses the case of a woman who ate four meals a night because she was always hungry. Adult thumb suckers are more advanced libidinally, as their libido has achieved independence of the nutritive instinct. It is likely that whole families are oral. The pleasure of sucking is a pleasure in taking something. In a child who was disappointed or overindulged in sucking, pleasure in biting, or sadism, will be emphasized. Oral optimists are those who were breast-fed for a long time. Pessimism, however, may be oral, as a result of disappointment of oral desires.¹

The oral type dislikes being alone and must talk to others. His chief relation to others is by oral discharge. In the oral sadistic type, speaking takes the place of repressed impulses from other sources. Hostility becomes the purpose of speech. There are many varieties of oral character. These varieties depend on whether a feature of character was developed on the basis of the earlier (sucking) or later (biting) stage.²

The early oral stage is characterized by very intense craving and effort, while the second or biting stage is distinguished by the presence of covetous impulses and envy, hostility, and jealousy. "People gratified in the earliest stage are bright

1. Loc. cit.

2. Loc. cit.

and sociable; those fixated at the oral-sadistic stage are hostile and malicious."¹ The oral character is impatient and hasty. Glover has emphasized that ambition is primarily oral.²

A number of other writers also made contributions to the study of the oral character. Kissing, drinking, and smoking are all signs of orality, according to Fenichel.³ The desire of children for animal crackers is a sign of oral cannibalistic fantasies. Greed is always traceable to oral eroticism. People are regarded by the oral person as sources of food.⁴

Glover notes the difficulties in differentiating the oral character from the anal.⁵ In oral eroticism, children learn to assume basic relationships with objects. All positive or negative emphasis on taking is oral, according to Glover. The pure oral type has great self assurance and optimism, unless frustration has made him vengeful and demanding. Oral deprivation leads to a pessimistic or sadistic attitude. Oral conflict is usually between the tendency to respond to disappointment by using violence and the tendency to be ingratiatingly submissive. Oral persons may identify with the object by whom they want to

1. Ibid., p. 403.

2. E. Glover, "Notes on Oral Character Formation," International Journal of Psychoanalysis, 6, (1925), pp. 131-134.

3. Fenichel, op. cit., p. 65.

4. Loc. cit.

5. Glover, op. cit., and "Significance of the Mouth in Psychoanalysis," British Journal of Medical Psychology, 4, (1924), pp. 134-135.

be fed, and act as generous mothers in all relationships.¹

Outstanding generosity or miserliness can both be attributed to oral eroticism. Some oral persons insist on being helped, while others repress such wishes and will not impose themselves on anyone by asking for anything. Some oral persons, like the gastric ulcer types, are very dependent, but pretend to be independent.²

Chadwick points out that when hunger is displaced to the mental field, curiosity becomes an oral trait which may be voracious.³ Restlessness, talkativeness, haste, and obstinate silence are also oral traits. Strachey regards reading, like other techniques for satisfying curiosity, as oral-sadistic incorporation of objects.⁴ He quotes analyses of patients which confirm this point of view. Schmidt has also said that oral impulses evolve into the thirst for knowledge.⁵ Inasmuch as every child was helped at one time or other by a parental figure who helped and comforted him, this oral-passive residue of infancy is potentially present in most people.⁶

1. Ibid. pp. 134-135.

2. F. Alexander, "The Influence of Psychological Factors in Gastrointestinal Disturbances," Psychoanalytic Quarterly, 3, (1934), pp. 501-540.

3. M. Chadwick, "Ueber die Wurzeln der Wissbegierde," Internationale Zeitschrift fuer Psychoanalyse, 2, (1925), pp. 54-68.

4. J. Strachey, "Some Unconscious Factors in Reading," International Journal of Psychoanalysis, 11, (1930), pp. 322-331.

5. N. Schmidt, "Die Bedeutung des Brustsaugens und Fingerlutschens fuer die Physische Entwicklung des Kindes," Imago, 12, (1926), pp. 376-392; and "Die Entwicklung des Wisstriebes bei einem Kinde," Imago, 16, (1930), pp. 246-289.

6. Loc. cit.

The Anal Type

In the psychoanalytic scheme of psychosexual development anality follows orality. In Freud's first paper on the anal character, he said that his attention was drawn to this phenomenon by his observation that many of his patients as children had refused to empty their bowels because of the pleasure they derived from holding their feces. In adult life, these individuals delighted in withholding their stools and the erotic significance of the anal zone is intensified. These individuals are orderly, parsimonious, and obstinate, or they have sublimations, reaction formations, or perpetuation of these traits. Their orderliness and cleanliness are reactions against their secret love for unclean things (feces), and they are obstinate because they are reacting against the breaking of the will which is implicit in toilet training. They are parsimonious because they delight in holding on to their feces, and they equate money and feces. Freud emphasizes that this triad of characteristics was forced upon his notice by his patients and that he was very surprised at this finding.

A mass of other psychoanalytic workers began to find additional evidence for, and to expand the idea of, the anal type. Freud himself in 1913 suggested that anal retention tendencies represent a combination of erogenous pleasure and security against anxiety.¹ These retention tendencies, however,

1. S. Freud, "Predisposition to Obsessional Neurosis," Collected Papers. Translated by J. Riviere. London: L. and V. Woolf, 1922. Volume 2. P. 402. pp. 122-133.

increase anxiety. In the same year, Ernest Jones pointed out that the symptoms of obsessional neurosis indicate a libidinal regression to anal¹ity.

Abraham, in 1921 expanded the concept of the anal type.² He noted that anal types might regress and become modelers or painters, thus satisfying their desire to work with feces. A reaction formation against this would lead to great cleanliness. Money is equated with feces and thus misers may be anal. Anal types may be librarians or statisticians, as working with numbers or classifying restores the sense of power and mastery which the child has in his control of his feces. Anal reactions are sadistic, destructive, and envious. Avarice may be displaced from money to time, so that time may be regarded as a valuable commodity, as in the popular adage that "money is time." Another typical anal trait is that of having clean outer clothes and soiled under clothes. The anal type tends to be preoccupied with the reverse side of situations, and makes mistakes in right-left or north-south directions. This is due to displacement of libido from the anal to the genital zone.³

S. Ferenczi, in 1916, clinically documented the thesis

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1. E. Jones, "Hate and Anal Erotism in the Obsessional Neurosis," Papers on Psychoanalysis. New York: W. Wood and Company, 1913. P. xv + 432.
 2. K. Abraham, Selected Papers, pp. 370-393.
 3. Loc. cit.

that feces are equated with money.¹ He also discussed the relationship between time and feces. Thus, anal types may be very punctual or very tardy. The man who does not work but waits until the last minute to catch the train is typical. The suspension of activity gives the same autoerotic pleasure as does the retention of feces. Harnik found considerable anthropological data to show that the awareness of time is based on anal eroticism.² He says that the child gets his idea of time on the basis of how often defecation occurs, how long it lasts, and how long it may be postponed. Oberndorf also holds that anal types have a highly developed sense of time.³

Fenichel emphasizes that sphincter training is all important in personality formation because it centers around the first situation in which the child may learn to postpone a direct instinctual pleasure because of environmental pressure.⁴ This situation is the beginning of frugality (anal retention), orderliness (not soiling diapers with feces), and obstinacy and stubbornness (not releasing feces). In compulsive neurotics,

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1. "The Origin of Interest in Money," in Contributions to Psychoanalysis. Translated by E. Jones. Boston: Richard G. Badger, 1916. P. iv + 288. pp. 269-279.
 2. J. Harnik, "Die Triebhaft-Affektiven Momente im Zeitgefuehl," Imago, 11, (1925), pp. 32-57.
 3. C. P. Oberndorf, "Time - Its Relation to Reality and Purpose," Psychoanalytic Review, 28, (1941), pp. 139-155.
 4. O. Fenichel, "The Drive to Amass Wealth," Psychoanalytic Quarterly, 7, (1938), pp. 69-95.

anal character traits, representing obedience, are reaction formations. In adult life, people are treated by the neurotic as feces were treated by the infant.

Landauer, pointing up some difficulties of psychoanalytic typology, notes that "what some of us rightly characterized as anal, others with equal justice attributed to oral strivings."¹ He feels that it is not so much the oral, anal, and genital zones which shape character as the social demands which form personality.² "Once our interest in the formation of anal character traits has been transferred from the sexual region of the anus to the factor of social requirements, we shall begin to understand . . . the complexity of the characterological picture."³ Menninger, however, feels that although the anal period in our culture is very complicated, nonetheless it is probably the most potent factor in the formation of personality.⁴

The Genital Type

Abraham, in 1925, wrote the most comprehensive and probably the best account of the genital type.⁵ He points out

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1. K. Landauer, "Some Remarks on the Formation of the Anal-Erotic Character," International Journal of Psychoanalysis, 20, (1939), pp. 419-428. p. 418.
 2. Ibid., pp. 419-425.
 3. Ibid., p. 421.
 4. W. C. Menninger, "Characterologic and Symptomatic Expressions Related to the Anal Phase of Psychosexual Development," Psychoanalytic Quarterly, 12, (1943), pp. 161-195.
 5. K. Abraham, "Character Formation on the Genital Level of Libido Development," Selected Papers, pp. 407-417.

that the oral and anal types, in our culture, are considered to be neurotic. Full normalcy is achieved only by the genital type. This type is distinguished by the absence of the oral and anal characteristics, notably anal hostility, avarice, and mistrust. A genital person has successfully resolved his Oedipus conflict and no longer has ambivalent attitudes to the opposite sex. Abraham emphasizes that there are no norms or distinct characteristics of the genital type. If the genital level is reached, the ability to sublimate increases, and ambivalence is overcome. Reaction formation ends and unconscious guilt feelings disappear. Emotions are not fought but are used by the ego. Genital satisfaction insures that pre-genital impulses are controlled. The genital person is one who is not prevented by eccentricities from adapting himself to the interests of the community. Through psychoanalysis, it is possible to change an oral or anal type into a genital type. The genital person has preserved the best features of orality and anality. He takes energy and enterprise from orality and endurance and perseverance from anality. Anal and oral sadism are converted into the ability to maintain the struggle for existence. Abraham feels that "psychoanalysis has demonstrated the close connection that character formation has with the psychosexual development of the child. . ."¹

Writing in 1933 for the general public, Freud summarized

1. Ibid., p. 416.

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his typology. The oral stage is based on oral incorporation or sucking, leading to biting, or the oral-sadistic stage. Destructive tendencies rule the anal-sadistic stage, while the anal-retentive stage is characterized by a desire to possess things. The genital stage is the overcoming of the oral and anal stages. A person's personality represents a sublimation of, a reaction formation against, or a perpetuation of, one of these stages.

Verification of This Typology

In general, this typology has been validated clinically rather than experimentally. A psychoanalyst, noting that an adult patient has characteristics of oral or anal personality, and finding in the analysis that the adult's infancy contained the kinds of situations which presumably create oral and anal types, may publish the case history and show how it compares with the classical descriptions of the type. The literature of psychoanalytic typology consists of contributions of this sort, largely. No analyst has found any evidence that the oral and anal types did not exist as clinical entities. It would appear that this is one element of psychoanalysis which could be tested experimentally quite easily, by getting two groups of similar socio-economic status and background and giving each group different kinds of toilet training and oral feeding while

1. S. Freud, New Introductory Lectures On Psychoanalysis. Translated by W.J.H. Sprott. New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1933. P. xi + 257. pp. 135-143.

keeping all other factors constant.¹ The kind of adult personality which followed could be checked and would confirm or deny the validity of the analytic types. This kind of research has never been done, and only a few piecemeal researches under controlled conditions have been conducted.

The first of these was that of the psychiatrist, G. V. Hamilton.² He put many questions and gave psychiatric interviews to 100 men and 100 women who were married, in one of the first serious intensive researches on marriage conducted in this country. He attempted to discover the interrelationship between anal eroticism or constipation in childhood and stinginess or extravagance, sadism and masochism, fetichism, and overfastidiousness, as these were rated by the men and women themselves and by their spouses. Thirty-five men and twenty-four women recalled either childhood constipation or some form of anal eroticism. Forty-six per cent of these men and 42% of these women were regarded by their spouses as stingy or extravagant, as compared to 36% and 22%, respectively, for men and women who had not had childhood anal eroticism or constipation.

Of the men and women with childhood anal memories, 77% of the men and 54% of the women admitted past or present sadistic

1. H. Orlansky, "Infant Care and Personality," Psychological Bulletin, 46, (January, 1949), pp. 1-49.

2. G. V. Hamilton, A Research in Marriage. New York: A. and C. Boni, 1929. P. xiii + 570. pp. 467-472.

fantasies, impulses or acts. Of the men and women without childhood anal memories, 36% of the men and 25% of the women admitted past or present sadistic fantasies, impulses or acts. Some forms of masochism were admitted by 74% of the men and 54% of the women who admitted to childhood anal memories, while 18% of the men and 21% of the women who had no such memories admitted to some form of masochism.

Twenty eight per cent of the men and 33% of the women with childhood anal memories admitted to a tendency to treasure inanimate objects belonging to a loved person, or fetichism. However, 14% of the men and 22% of the women without childhood anal memories also admitted fetichism.

Fastidiousness, neatness, and special attention to personal cleanliness were characteristic of 82% of the men and 75% of the women who recalled childhood anality. In contrast, 66% of the men and 70% of the women without childhood anality were careful, neat and fastidious.

Thus, Hamilton, in interviews with 100 married couples, found that the thirty five men and twenty four women who had an overstrong anal component in infancy and childhood had uniformly more sadism, stinginess or extravagance, masochism, fetichism, and fastidiousness than the men and women who did not have strong childhood anality. His evidence is completely favorable to Freud's hypotheses on the anal type, although the number of cases involved is small and his system of trait ratings is rather naive.

In 1936, R. R. Sears attempted an experimental study to see if the three cardinal anal traits of stinginess, obstinacy, and orderliness were actually correlated, as Freud had postulated.¹ He took thirty seven fraternity members and had each man rated by all the other men on a seven-point scale. Using partial correlation, Sears attempted to hold the halo effect constant. The correlation between stinginess and orderliness was + .39, between stinginess and obstinacy + .37, and between obstinacy and orderliness + .36. All correlations were thus small but positive, and there was a slight tendency for anal character traits to form the Freudian constellation. It is uncertain whether these traits are related to anal eroticism, but Sears quotes Hamilton's data as suggesting that they may be.

The psychiatrist, D. M. Levy, has worked with puppies to find if oral traits can be confirmed in them.² His conclusions on puppies generally confirm Freudian theories. He found that a function which is not exercised satisfactorily may reappear later as a regression. Six puppies were fed from milk bottles

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1. "Experimental Studies of Projection - I. Attribution of Traits," Journal of Social Psychology, 7, (1936), pp. 151-163., and Survey of Objective Studies of Psychoanalytic Concepts. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1943. P. xiv + 156. pp. 67-70.
 2. "On the Problem of Movement Restraint," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 14, (1944), pp. 644-671; "Experiments on Sucking Reflex and Social Behavior," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 4, (1934), pp. 203-224.

with a large apertured nipple. This large aperture insured that the milk was soon gone and the puppies' stomachs were filled relatively quickly. Levy found that these puppies, in later life, continued to suck everything they could find. He has also shown that tics and forced movements follow the restriction of orality or bodily movements in children, hens, and horses. Levy's experiments suggest that a function not used adequately may become a permanent drive pattern. Presumably, if this function is used at the right time, it disappears. Although Levy's material is based on a small number of cases, it constitutes suggestive evidence for the Freudian typology.

Huschka, working at the New York Hospital in 1942, attempted to find the child's response to coercive bowel training.¹ She had 213 problem children, from one to thirteen years old. One hundred and four of these children were given coercive toilet training. The criterion of this coercive training was its beginning before the child is eight months old. Huschka uses Ilg's belief that toilet training should not begin until the eighth month, when the child starts wiggling or grunting in order to show its need to defecate. She found that over half the coerced children had more constipation, fear, and rage and reacted in a self damaging manner. Unfortunately, there was no control group and there have been no further published reports

1. M. Huschka, "The Child's Response to Coercive Bowel Training," Psychosomatic Medicine, 4, (1942), pp. 301-308.

on this group, to correlate these traits with later personality.

The psychoanalyst, Ferenczi, who believed in active therapy or semi-experimental techniques like active interference with the life of the patient, believed that he had found experimental proof of Freud's typology.¹ He regulated the extent and frequency of the patient's anal and urethral functions in such a manner as to bring about a reactivation of childhood anal and urethral eroticism. This would bring up relevant psychic material, and Ferenczi would explain the significance of this material to the patient. The patient would then abandon his anal personality traits for a more adult adjustment. Ferenczi, however, was regarded by Freud as a heretic and nobody has been able to reproduce Ferenczi's success with this semi-experimental technique.

Murray, in an extremely elaborate series of researches into personality, borrowed Freud's typology and used it as a basis for his experiments, but attempted no research to confirm its validity.²

In commenting on Fries' researches on oral and anal tendencies in infants, Malcove says that the "role of habit training was studied thoroughly. That it influenced behavior

1. S. Ferenczi, Contributions to Psychoanalysis. Translated by E. Jones. Boston: Richard G. Badger, 1916. P. 288. pp. 269-279.

2. H. A. Murray, Explorations in Personality. New York: Oxford University Press, 1938. P. xiii + 761. pp. 362-385.

was beyond doubt."¹ However, Fries herself says that "any attempt to correlate the age at which habit training was started with later personality traits, without consideration of the mother's personality type, would involve a large factor of error."²

The difficulties attendant on sound experimentation in this field are pointed up by M.C. Ericson, who found that caste and class determine child rearing practices to a great degree.³ She interviewed 100 mothers, of whom forty eight were middle class and fifty two were lower class. She obtained data on feeding and elimination habits of 107 middle class and 167 lower class children. She emphasizes that in addition to breast feeding and toilet training, such factors as birth order, family structure, rejection by parents, siblings, and loss of parents may help to create personality. In a remark which is certainly relevant to many psychoanalysts, she points out that "since most psychologists are themselves of middle-class origin, they have assumed, on the basis of the patterns known to them, that the middle class way of training is applied to all other children regardless of class differences."⁴

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1. L. Malcove, "Margaret E. Fries Research in Problems of Infancy and Childhood," Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, 1, (1945), pp. 405-414, p. 410.
 2. M.E. Fries, "The Child's Ego Development and the Training of Adults in His Development," Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, 2, (1946), pp. 85-112, p. 92.
 3. "Social Status and Child Rearing Practices," in T. M. Newcomb and E.L Hartley, Readings in Social Psychology, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1942. P. xiv + 672. pp. 494-501.
 4. Ibid., p. 495.

She used an eighteen page guided interview, and found that fewer middle class children than lower class children were breast fed. Lower class children were breast fed for longer periods of time than middle class children. Middle class children were more carefully supervised in toilet training, which they began earlier than did the lower class children. Ericson's data are based on so few cases that it is difficult to generalize, but this approach should be a good testing ground for anal and oral type confirmation. Its difficulties are emphasized in a study by Davis and Havighurst, of 1200 well sampled Chicago families.¹ They found that it was difficult to find any pronounced relationships between child rearing and personality.

General Comments

In a recent survey of psychoanalysis, Mullahy called Freud's typology one of his most remarkable achievements.² Orlansky calls it a very remarkable insight.³ Ernest Jones calls Freud's typology one of Freud's most astonishing findings,

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1. A. Davis and R.J. Havighurst, "Social Class and Color Differences in Child Rearing," American Sociological Review, 11, (1946), pp. 698-710.
 2. P. Mullahy, Oedipus, Myth and Complex, p. 58.
 3. H. Orlansky, "Infant Care and Personality," Psychological Bulletin, 46, (1949), pp. 1-49.

and one which arouses great opposition and repugnance.¹ T. W. Mitchell comments that no one ever encounters psychoanalytic teaching on this matter for the first time without regarding it as false and preposterous.² Frank praises it and restates it in general psychological terms.³ He holds that a precocious training which tries to force the child, before his physiological readiness, into rigid patterns of elimination, will cause resistance and accentuate retention as a defensive measure. It will focus the child's later behavior "upon acquisitive or compensatory outlets for the denial of possession of his own eliminations."⁴

Horney decries the emphasis on oral and anal personalities and emphasizes that "the sum total of childhood experiences brings about a certain character structure, or rather starts its development."⁵ She underlines the importance of the total social situation. "A person does not have tight lips because of the tenseness of his sphincter, but both are tight because his character tends toward one goal - to hold on to what he has."⁶ Erich Fromm also calls for a revision of the Freudian

1. W. Healy, A.F. Bronner, and A.M. Bowers, The Structure and Meaning of Psychoanalysis, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1930. P. xx + 482 + xxiv. p. 318.

2. Problems in Psychopathology, quoted Loc. cit.

3. L.K. Frank, "Cultural Coercion and Individual Distortion," Psychiatry, 2, (1939), pp. 11-27.

4. Ibid., p. 22.

5. K. Horney, New Ways in Psychoanalysis. New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1939. P. 313. p. 152.

6. Ibid., p. 61.

approach. He feels that "as long as we assume . . . that the anal character . . . is caused by certain early experiences in connection with defecation, we have hardly any data that lead us to understand why a specific class should have an anal character."¹ He urges that these early experiences be regarded as a form of relatedness to others, and holds that this approach will explain why the whole way of life of the lower middle class was oriented to the anal type.

Kardiner says that "cleanliness and orderliness are forms of acquiescence to cultural demands, and are therefore forms of obedience,"² in a society with early bowel training. Kroeber points out the importance of socio-economic and cultural factors³ in deciding when cleanliness and order appear. He notes that the new wealthy middle class was largely responsible for cleanliness and order in England and Holland, as exemplified in the Dutch scrubbing of doorsteps and the English portable bath. The Swiss historian, S. Giedion, however, emphasizes that ideological, philosophical, and cultural factors are all intermingled in the creation of bathing habits in various cultures.⁴ In an entire book devoted to the history of toilets,

1. Escape From Freedom, p. 293.

2. A. Kardiner, The Individual and His Society. New York: Columbia University Press, 1939. P. xxvi + 503. pp. 43-44.

3. A. L. Kroeber, Anthropology. New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1923. P. x + 523. pp. 600-602.

4. Mechanization Takes Command. New York: Oxford University Press, 1948. P. xiv + 743. pp. 628-671.

Reynolds points out that Crete had toilets in 3500 B.C. and that Sir John Harington perfected the modern valve water closet as long ago as 1596.¹ Psychoanalytic attempts to explain long range sociological and economic phenomena like capitalism as due to sublimated anality will have to reckon with such non-psychological factors as those which Giedion and Reynolds adduce.

Meerloo and Coleman discuss the difficulties involved² in relating child training techniques to adult personality. They point out that even self demand breast feeding, which should make for a balanced personality with oral leanings, may have unexpectedly negative effects, if the feeding situation is an exaggerated element in the total behavior pattern of a neurotic mother. They say that breast feeding is only one element in a total handling situation through which the mother's attitudes are transmitted. They suggest that it is extremely important to know, by prenatal psychiatric interviews, the manner in which the prospective mother is likely to utilize breast feeding in terms of her own emotional economy. Thus, the parent must be considered in any discussion of orality and breast feeding. This represents an advance on, and a modification of the thinking of Freud, Abraham, Glover, and the classical oral theorists.

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1. R. Reynolds, Cleanliness and Godliness. New York: Doubleday and Company, 1946. P. 326. pp. 2-95.
 2. M.L. Coleman and A.E. Meerloo, "Self Demand Breast Feeding and Oral Regression," The Quarterly Journal of Child Behavior, 1, (1949), pp. 161-171.

The psychoanalyst, Erikson, has expanded Abraham's idea of the importance of the kind of process which the mouth carries¹ out. He believes that all processes involve either taking in, retaining, or giving out. He attempts to analyze formally the zones - oral, anal, and genital - in terms of the modes of behavior appropriate to each zone. He believes it possible to classify different cultures according to the extent to which they either abbreviate or lengthen each zone's primacy, or emphasize the behavior associated with each zone, and thus produce a standard personality. This permits cross-comparison of children in different cultures at any stage.

Erikson divides these zones into: oral-respiratory-sensory-tactual; anal-urethral-muscular; infantile genital-urethral-locomotor.²

Bartlett has criticized the analytic typology from a sociological point of view, pointing out that "Freud has tended to omit any serious examination of the conditions of infantile development, not understanding the dependence of individual development upon social processes."³ He says that people on Times Square and in primitive tribes in Australia obviously differ

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1. E.H. Erikson, "Observations on Sioux Education," Journal of Psychology, 15, (1939), pp. 101-156.
 2. M. Mead, "Research on Primitive Children," in L. Carmichael, editor, Manual of Child Psychology. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1946. P. 1068.p.670.
 3. F.H. Bartlett, "The Limitations of Freud," Science and Society, 3, (1939), p. 86.

and that their societies have made them different. He castigates Freud for not taking adequate notice of the way in which¹ these differences in society form personality.

The London psychoanalyst, M. Klein, has emphasized the² importance of orality in personality formation. She stresses that orality is important because pleasure is experienced through contact with the breast and is the child's first expression of sexuality. Jersild says that statements like Klein's cannot, in the present state of knowledge, be regarded³ as statements of fact based on tested scientific data.

Psychoanalytic Typology and Its Uses

The psychoanalytic typology has been used by a number of other disciplines. F. Wittels believes that it opens a⁴ whole new world of insights to criticism of the arts. "We have never as yet analyzed a painter who did not disclose a⁵ constitutionally intensified anal complex." He calls Charlie Chaplin "an oral type, hiding and ridiculing his oral tendencies by sticking an absurd mustache upon his upper lip."⁶

1. Ibid., pp. 64-106.

2. M. Klein, The Psychoanalysis of Children. Translated by A. Strachey. London: L. and V. Woolf, 1932. P. 393.

3. A. T. Jersild, "Emotional Development," in Carmichael, op. cit. pp. 752-790.

4. Freud and His Time. New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 1931. P. 451. pp. 401-415.

5. Ibid., p. 404.

6. Ibid., p. 408.

Wittels also calls the poet an oral type.

Jelliffe and Brink believed that analytic typology could¹ be of great use to a study of the drama. They analyze nine plays from this point of view, and point out, for example, that the protagonist of Tolstoi's Redemption is an oral alcoholic.

F.J. Hoffman has devoted a book to the effects of Freud² on literature. Among the writers who have used Freud's typology consciously are D. H. Lawrence,³ Thomas Mann,⁴ and Sherwood Anderson,⁵ who remarked "if there is anything you do not understand in human life, consult the works of Dr. Freud."⁶

Other well known writers who used this typology are Conrad⁷, Aiken,⁸ L. Lewisohn,⁹ the poet Dylan Thomas¹⁰ and Arthur Koestler,

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1. S.E. Jelliffe and Louise Brink, Psychoanalysis and the Drama. New York and Washington: Nervous and Mental Disease Publishing Company, 1922. P. v + 162.
 2. Freudianism and the Literary Mind. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1945. P. viii + 346.
 3. Fantasia of the Unconscious. New York: T. Seltzer, 1922. P. xv + 297.
 4. The Magic Mountain. Translated by H. Howe-Porter. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1930. P. 900.
 5. Many Marriages. New York: B.W. Huebsch, 1923. P. 264; Dark Laughter, New York: Boni and Liveright, 1925. P. 319.
 6. Dark Laughter, p. 230.
 7. The Great Circle. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933. P. 335.
 8. The Golden Vase. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1931. P. 141.
 9. Portrait of the Artist as A Young Dog. Norfolk: New Directions, 1940. P. 186.
 10. Arrival and Departure. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1943. P. 180.

whose Arrival and Departure is probably the most skillful and convincing use of psychoanalysis in fiction.

Modern research has emphasized the possibility of relating alcoholism and drug addiction to the oral type.¹ Sociologists, such as Robert K. Merton,² Talcott Parsons,³ and political scientists like H. D. Lasswell,⁴ have used this typology to a considerable extent.

A number of sociologists and anthropologists, accepting the analytic typology, have attempted to use it for studies in national character. Geoffrey Gorer, an English diplomat, wrote a book on America from this point of view.⁵ He regards America as primarily oral, and points out that the great importance of the mouth is due to the great importance which the mother's compulsive anxiety gives to the infant's oral activities. He

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1. C. Landis, "Theories of the Alcoholic Personality," Alcohol, Science and Society. New Haven: Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 1945. P. xii + 473. pp. 129-142. p. 134.
 2. Social Theory and Social Structure. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1949. P. 423.
 3. The Structure of Social Action. New York: The Free Press, 1937. P. 817.
 4. Psychopathology and Politics. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930. P. viii + 285; World Politics and Personal Insecurity. New York and London: Whittlesey House, 1935. P. viii + 307.
 5. The American People: A Study in National Character. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1948. P. 246.

says that anxiety about an unbalanced national budget is oral, and attributes the American Congress' well known slowness in voting for food and other aid for other countries as a sign of orality, because the collective American mouth wants to be certain that there is enough food for it. He discusses the American penchant for Coca Cola, sweets, bottled milk, and the display of female breasts in advertising as symptoms of the oral American character.¹ Gorer has also written a monograph on the Japanese national character, which he finds predominantly anal.² He attributes many features of Japanese culture and personality to the rigid bowel training of the Japanese.³ La Barre adopts a similar position.

Anthropological Uses

Although anthropologists have long been attempting to find a psychology which would help to interpret anthropological data, psychoanalysis has been almost the only psychology to be used in anthropology.⁴ There is practically no anthropological work which uses any other psychology. The use of the Freudian

1. Ibid., pp. 70-106.

2. C. Gorer, "Themes in Japanese Culture," New York Academy of Sciences Transactions, 2, (1943), pp. 106-124.

3. W. La Barre, "Some Observations on Character Structure in the Orient," Psychiatry, 8, (1945), pp. 319-342; 9, (1946), pp. 375-395.

4. C. Kluckhohn, "The Influence of Psychiatry on Anthropology," in American Psychiatric Association, One Hundred Years of American Psychiatry. New York: Columbia University Press, 1944. P. xxiv + 649. pp. 589-617.

typology by anthropologists has been particularly extensive. Geza Roheim, a Hungarian psychoanalyst who has done extensive anthropological field work in Australia, has been one of the most prolific and influential of those who have used this typology. In a book published in 1926, Roheim remarks that it is only with these Freudian tools "that we have begun to see behind the curtain of the stage on which the great Drama of Mankind is acted."¹ Roheim published his first monograph in 1919,² and he followed this with many other books, in all of which Freud's typology is taken for granted and used very extensively. If Roheim found any evidence against it, he never quotes such evidence. He does, however, amass a formidable amount of evidence on behalf of this typology.³ He has influenced a great many later anthropologists, among whom Margaret Mead is probably the best known.

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1. G. Roheim, Social Anthropology: A Psychoanalytic Study in Anthropology and A History of Australian Totemism. New York: Boni and Liveright, 1926. P. 487.
 2. Spiegelzauber. Leipzig: Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag, 1919. P. 263.
 3. Mondmythologie und Mondreligion. Leipzig: Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag, 1927. P. 104.; Australian Totemism. London: G. Allen and Unwin, 1935. P. 487.; The Eternal Ones of the Dream. New York: International Universities Press, 1945. P. xiii + 270.; "Psychoanalysis of Primitive Cultural Types," International Journal of Psychoanalysis, 13, (1932), pp. 1-224.; "Primitive High Gods," Psychoanalytic Quarterly, 3, (1934), pp. 1-133. The Riddle of the Sphinx. London: L. and V. Woolf, 1934. P. 302.; "Women and Their Life in Central Australia," Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 63, (1933), pp. 207-265.

Mead has set herself the task of examining the validity of general psychological propositions by anthropological field work. She has attempted to work with such problems as the flexibility of human nature, the elasticity of human nature, and what happens when a society makes assumptions which its educational system cannot carry out. She has consciously used Freud's typology to explain what she saw in the field. In fact, she calls the work of Abraham, Roheim and others on anal and oral characters valuable sources for her own field work and theoretical analysis.

In discussing the Arapesh, for example, she asks ". . . what are the determinative factors in the early training of the child which assures that it will be placid and contented, unaggressive and non-competitive. . .?" She answers her questions by noting that these children are always suckled whenever they cry and are always near the mother. "No Arapesh child ever sucks its thumb or sucks one finger continuously." These

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1. M. Mead, Coming of Age in Samoa, New York: William Morrow and Company, 1928. P. vii + 304.
 2. Growing Up in New Guinea. New York: William Morrow and Company, 1930. P. 384.
 3. Sex and Temperament. New York: William Morrow and Company, 1935. P. xiv + 335.
 4. M. Mead, "The Mountain Arapesh. II. Supernaturalism," Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, 37, (1940), pp. 330-331.
 5. Sex and Temperament, p. 40.
 6. Ibid., p. 43.

people are gentle, responsive, cooperative, and have little sense of struggle or conflict. Adults are gentle, unaggressive, and friendly. This is all due to the pleasant oral training the children get, and their being permitted to dawdle in nursing. Mead notes that this placid upbringing leads to very little differentiation between the sexes.

However, R. Fortune, who visited the Arapesh at the same time as Mead, presents material which would appear to make her description inaccurate and describes the existence of Arapesh warfare.¹ He calls her descriptions of sex differences erroneous and incomplete. It is likely that Mead's explanation of Arapesh personality is not the only possible one. For example, the Arapesh may be docile and unaggressive for environmental, hereditary, or other reasons.

One hundred miles away from the Arapesh live the Mund-²gumour. They are violent, ferocious, reckless, and suspicious. They are cannibals and father and son are rivals. Everybody is expected to be violent and competitive. They often conduct raids on neighboring tribes. Mead attributes this oral-sadistic personality to the oral-sadistic training they get. Their children are weaned by being pushed away from the breast. The children have to fight for milk, and are suckled very rapidly.

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1. "Arapesh Warfare," American Anthropologist, 41, (1939), pp. 22-41.
 2. M. Mead, Sex and Temperament, pp. 167-237.

As the child gets angry at having to swallow milk rapidly, so does the mother get angry and she pushes the child away. Here also, Mead's impressionistic descriptions are such as to make her explanations suggestive but not definitive. For example, the Mundgumour birth rate is very high and food is at a premium. They may, therefore, make raids on other tribes, not only because they are sadistic but also to get food.

Mead describes the Balinese character as being formed¹ by its oral training. The infant has to draw milk up into its mouth. The mother stimulates the child to suckle but turns away, which is like rejection. The mother tickles the baby's lips with her nipple, but looks away uninterestedly as soon as the baby begins to suck. The mother weans the child between the ages of three and six. The child thus, according to Mead, learns fear and the possibility of rejection in this oral stage. The adult Balinese character is schizoid, as a result of this oral experience of simultaneous acceptance and rejection.

Mead's work has been very influential in pediatrics,² education,³ and popular thinking. Her views on oral and anal

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1. M. Mead and G. Bateson, Balinese Character. New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1942. P. xv + 277.
 2. E. H. Erikson, Problems of Infancy and Early Childhood, "Cyclopedia of Medicine, Surgery, and Specialties. Philadelphia: F.A. Davis and Company, 1942. pp. 715-730.
 3. M. Mead, Male and Female. New York: William Morrow and Company, 1949. P. ix + 477.

training have attracted wide attention. It is important to note that her material is often suggestive but seldom final, and her work gives signs of being impressionistic. For example, to buttress her comments on the importance of breast feeding, she writes that "no primitive child whom I have ever seen or heard of sucks its thumb or fingers."¹ But Dennis reports that six per cent of several hundred Hopi children were thumb suckers.² Goodenough reports that infants on Truk suck their thumbs in spite of unlimited breast feeding.³ The child psychiatrist, Bernfeld, categorically states that "all doubt concerning the regularly established fact that all children suck their fingers even without being hungry is absolutely excluded during the first three months."⁴

Another psychoanalytically trained anthropologist who has applied Freud's typology is E. H. Erikson.⁵ His work is

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1. M. Mead, "The Primitive Child," in C. Murchison, Handbook of Child Psychology. Worcester: Clark University Press, 1931. P. xii + 711. p. 676.
 2. W. Dennis, "Infant Reaction to Restraint," New York Academy of Science Transactions, 2, (1940), p. 181.
 3. Cited by H. Orlansky, "Infant Care and Personality," Psychological Bulletin, 46, (1949), p. 11.
 4. S. Bernfeld, The Psychology of the Infant. Translated by R. Hurwitz. New York: Brentano, 1929. P. xi + 309. p. 73.
 5. "Observations on the Yurok: Childhood and World Image," University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, 35, (1943), pp. 257-302.

often brilliant and suggestive. He worked with Kroeber's data on the Yurok, a tribe in the Redwood area of California. He interviewed witch doctors, interpreted dreams, spoke to the natives, and used his knowledge of the economy of the Yurok in connection with his theory of bodily zones. The Yurok territory contains ideal salmon spawning places, and the Yurok identifies with the salmon. For example, the salmon spawns in summer and most Yurok babies are born in the spring.

Most Yurok taboos are oral. Parents eat no meat until the child's navel heals after childbirth. The baby is breast fed but weaned early. Everybody eats slowly during meals, during which there is no talking and everybody concentrates on thoughts of wealth. Erikson feels that these thoughts of wealth are oral. There is severe punishment for oral swearing. He interprets the Yurok preambivalent nostalgia as a result of early weaning, and notices the incidence of sublimated biting of objects. This oral traumatization, says Erikson, also teaches the Yurok to avoid women and to distrust parent substitutes like politicians.

The Yurok's toilet training is begun early. He is thus, Erikson notes, compulsive, suspicious, and miserly. The Yurok have no pleasurable or phobic interest in feces, and thus there is no reaction formation to compulsive cleanliness. The main body zone stressed, however, is oral, with oral reception and retention emphasized. "By being a good warden of his nutritional system and a good warden of the river, and by guarding strength and wealth, the Yurok is clean enough . . . to eat his

salmon and have it next year too."¹

In another paper, Erikson finds that the Sioux personality is caused by orality.² He feels that the most important feature in Sioux personality formation is their late weaning. As soon as the child bites the nipple, his nursing is abruptly stopped. The Plains cradleboard, which doesn't permit the child to bite or kick or to move its body, is held responsible for the Sioux' proverbial cruelty, which leads them to kill, steal and rape. Their oral sadism is exemplified by their Sun Dance, in which they use sticks to rip open their flesh. Erikson calls this a secret turning in of biting wishes. The oral depressive features of Sioux personality, traceable to weaning habits, are to be found in their sadism, self punishment, generosity, biting gossip, and demanding dependence on the United States government.

In these two researches, Erikson has by his own admission, used highly suggestive techniques and criteria. His general theme can be expressed as being that differences in personality resemble, and are the results of, differences characterizing the kinds of traumatization of the erogenous zones of the body, notably the oral and anal zones. He makes an attempt, however, to consider economic conditions.

1. Ibid., p. 301.

2. "Observations on Sioux Education," Journal of Psychology, 15, (1939), pp. 101-156.

There has been a mass of material on primitive cultures which has, in general, confirmed the Freudian typology. A good deal of this material has been naive in that judgements were made about the nature of the adult personality of a tribe, and then, infant disciplines to justify the kind of adult personality which was posited, were found. There was little search for evidence to disprove this thesis, and Freudian anthropologists have seldom found data which might contradict their hypotheses. Writers on Freudian typology and its anthropological uses also seldom leave objective rules for later researchers to follow. This makes it impossible for their procedure to be repeated by other investigators as a check on the original conclusions.

In addition to the frequently weak methodology and the occasional naivete of those who have found proof of Freudian typology in anthropological data, there are some data which seem to contradict the hypothesis that infant disciplining of bodily orifices exercises a controlling influence on the formation of personality. For example, Underwood and Honigmann report that both the Kaska and the Haitian infants "are breast fed when they so desire and receive no pressure to control e-
limination. . .¹" Although one might expect a somewhat oral personality, neither society is sharply oral or anal. The

1. F.W. Underwood and I. Honigmann, "A Comparison of Socialization and Personality in Two Simple Societies," American Anthropologist, 49, (1947), pp. 557-577.

Kaska personality is somewhat seclusive while the Haitian is more outgoing. Underwood and Honigmann believe that "the indication is that other criteria than those associated with physiological urges are important in personality structuring and moreover, that these may lie in the childhood rather than infant experiences."¹

Campbell, writing of the St. Thomas Negroes, reports that breast feeding on demand is ordinarily maintained for one or two years. There is no sphincter control until quite² late, often not until the child is three or four years old. Even then, there is no systematic or formal toilet training. From this pattern of infancy, one might expect, on the basis of the Freudian typology, a pleasant, relaxed, and outgoing personality with no anal traits. Instead, Campbell reports that the St. Thomas are typically "insecure, suspicious, ego-centric,"³ or almost exactly the reverse of what the Freudian typology would lead us to expect. We must therefore assume, if the ethnographer's observations are correct, that other and external forces must exercise the dominant influence in forming the personality of this group.

Kluckhohn and Mowrer point out that in spite of the ideal and indulgent oral and anal training of the Navaho Indians,

1. Ibid., p. 575.

2. A. Campbell, "St. Thomas Negroes, A Study of Personality and Culture," Psychological Monographs, 55, (1943), pp. 1-89.

3. Ibid., p. 89.

their adult personality is characterized by considerable anxiety.¹ This anxiety therefore probably arises in the traumas of the post-infancy period, and would again seem to indicate that it is not possible to apply the Freudian typology literally.

Schapera, writing of the Kgatla of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, reports that they are not weaned until the age of two or three.² They are never permitted to cry, but are put to suck immediately. "So marked is its dependence upon sucking as a means of gratification and refuge from trouble that one sometimes sees an old grandmother try to soothe a crying child by putting it to her long-wizened bosom."³ There is sphincter control which consists of the child's being told to go outside to defecate. "If it is seen relieving itself in the courtyard, its mother will hit it with a little stick and say, go outside!"⁴ She keeps doing it until it has learned its lesson." One would expect, on the basis of the analytic types, that the Kgatla would be very warm and emotional, and very pleasant, as a result of their oral upbringing, while as a result of their rather violent toilet training, one would expect a grasping, penurious, and very clean adult personality. Instead, the ethnologist says

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1. O.H. Mowrer and C. Kluckhohn, "Dynamic Theory of Personality," in J. McV. Hunt, Personality and the Behavior Disorders. New York: The Ronald Press, 1944. P. xiii + 618 pp. 69-135.
 2. I. Schapera, Married Life in an African Tribe. London: Faber and Faber, Limited, 1940. P. 364.
 3. Ibid., p. 239.
 4. Ibid., p. 241.

that "there is little to suggest that even in the old days, . . . emotional satisfactions were a common feature of the Kgatla family system."¹ There is also no mention of any anal traits in his description.

Klineberg, however, questioned the whole idea of using primitive tribes to support psychological hypotheses. He asks if primitives are so homogeneous as we assume them to be.² He points out that these psychological uses of anthropological material assume that primitive culture is rigid. Hanks emphasized this point and confirmed Klineberg's doubts by analyzing all the extended autobiographies of primitives which have been published: Du Bois' eight autobiographies from Alor,³ Dyk's two Indian autobiographies,⁴ and C. Kluckhohn and D. C. Leighton's Navaho autobiography.⁵ Hanks found that all these primitive documents resemble our own personal documents and biographies in their personal stress and strain, lability and freedom of

1. Ibid., p. 355.

2. O. Klineberg, "Recent Studies of National Character," in S.S. Sargent and M.W. Smith, editors, Culture and Personality. New York: The Viking Fund, 1949. P. vi + 215. pp. 127-143.

3. C. DuBois, The People of Alor. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1944. P. xvi + 654.

4. W. Dyk, Son of Old Man Hat. New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1938. P. xiv + 378; and A Navaho Autobiography. New York: Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, Number 8, (1947), pp. 1-218.

5. Children of the People. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1947. P. xi + 277.

expression, and individual variations.¹ He found that there was thus little rigidity in these primitive cultures and that it might be dangerous to generalize on the basis of a presumed homogeneity of personality in primitives. Hanks' caution may invalidate a good many of the anthropological data offered in support of the Freudian typology.

Some attempts have been made to describe our own culture in terms of analytic typology. For example, G. Roheim has² called western civilization basically anal. Roheim points to our worry about the future, and our retention of food and feces symbolically by saving money in a bank. We emphasize soap, hygiene, and cleanliness because of our middle class anal training. Roheim's eagerness to explain the history of the last several hundred years as due to toilet training seems unduly ambitious. Although hoarding and punctuality may have increased since the Industrial Revolution, they could not have arisen without money to hoard or clocks by which to be punctual, and these depend on technology. It is not possible to speak of a drive to collect, without knowing what is collected. People exist in a culture and they cannot be said to possess universal

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1. L. M. Hanks, "Locus of Individual Differences in Certain Primitive Cultures," in Sargent and Smith, op. cit., pp. 107-127.
 2. "The Study of Character Development and the Ontogenetic Theory of Culture," in E.E. Evans-Pritchard, editor, Essays Presented to C. G. Seligman. London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner, and Company, 1934. P. ix + 385. pp. 281-292.

drives which are not affected by culture. A more economical theory of anality would explain the anal personality in terms of the specific culture area which is being discussed.¹

Summary

The Freudian typology of oral, anal, and genital types was an offshoot of the psychoanalysis of disturbed persons. It presents a scheme by which the adult's personality is formed when he is an infant, depending on the extent to which his oral and/or anal zones were traumatized or the extent to which the infant overcame halting at the oral or anal level and has progressed to the genital level. It has internal consistency, and has been used extensively by sociologists, writers, and anthropologists. It has predictive value, both for individuals and groups. It has often been used without historical sophistication and with philosophical naivete. Opinions about it differ, and it cannot be regarded as a proved scientific doctrine until much more evidence is available. There is some evidence available which appears to contradict this typology. Currently, psychoanalysts are beginning to realize that parental attitudes, hereditary factors, the baby's organic constitution, caste and class and economic position, the value placed on discipline by the local culture, and many other factors must be considered

1. H. Orlansky, "Infant Care and Personality," Psychological Bulletin, 46, (1949), p. 21.

before adult personality can be attributed to bodily fixations in infancy. This theory has taken too little account of what psychology teaches about learning, socialization, economic factors, motivation, and development. It is more daring than any of the other analytic systems discussed in this study, but it does not jibe with any of them, and both Fromm and Horney have indicated their dissatisfaction with Freud's typology by the very act of creating their own systems. Jung's bitter opposition to Freud's system is well known.

Freud's original purpose in setting forth this system was to show the relationship between infant disciplines and personality, and, insofar as he and his followers are concerned, this purpose has been realized. A great many students of this relationship, however, have raised radical doubts about whether the relationship has been proved at all.

The Freudian typology has had extensive practical application, not only in psychiatric and psychoanalytic work, but also in studies of national character, anthropology, literature, and several other fields. This typology has opened to study a whole area of hitherto unsuspected relationships, although these relationships are by no means accepted as definitively established today.

CHAPTER IV

JUNG'S INTROVERSION-EXTRAVERSION TYPOLOGY

The typology which has become most widely known to the general public and to psychologists in Europe and America is the introversion-extraversion dichotomy propounded by Carl Gustav Jung.¹ Jung was born in 1875 in Basel, Switzerland. He met Freud in 1906 and founded the International Psychoanalytic Society, which he headed until his break with Freud in 1913. He became the recognized head of the Zurich school of psychoanalysis and is still teaching and practicing in that city.

E. Kraepelin, the founder of modern psychiatric diagnosis, in 1899 first established a fundamental dichotomy in psychoses by his contrasting of manic depression with dementia praecox.² At about the same time, the great French psychologist P. Janet established a fundamental dichotomy in the neuroses, with hysteria and psychasthenia at opposite poles.³ In his 1908 monograph on dementia praecox, Jung

1. H.J. Eysenck, Dimensions of Personality, p. 10.

2. E. Kraepelin, Psychiatrie: ein Lehrbuch fuer Studierende und Aertzte. Leipzig: J.A.Barth, 1913. Volume 1. P. 676.

3. P. Janet, L'Etat Mental des Hysteriques. Paris: Rueff, 1894. P. 304, and Les Obsessions et la Psychasthenie.

originally advanced the concept of introversion to account for the dementia praecox personality, and made the hysteric and psychasthenic the prototypes of his extravert and introvert types.¹ In 1913, Jung delivered an address on "A Contribution to the Study of Psychological Types" at the International Psychoanalytic Society's annual Munich meeting.²

In this paper, he defined hysteria as the centrifugal tendency of the libido and dementia praecox as the centripetal tendency of the libido. "I propose to use the terms extraversion and introversion to describe these two opposite directions of the libido. . .he is extraverted when he gives his fundamental interest to the outer or objective world; he is introverted. . .when the objective world suffers a sort of depreciation for the sake of the exaltation of the individual himself."³ These contrasting orientations may be alternately present in the same person. Jung compares William James' tender minded versus tough minded philosophy, Wilhelm Ostwald's classic versus romantic artists, and Friedrich Nietzsche's Dionysian versus Apollonian to his own dichotomy. Jung notes that the division exists even in psychoanalysis: Adler is an introvert while Freud is an extrovert.⁴

1. E. Bleuler, C.J. Jung, Komplexe und Krankheitsursachen bei Dementia Praecox, cited by J. Jacobi, The Psychology of Jung, p. 148.

2. C.J. Jung, Collected Papers on Analytic Psychology. Translated by Constance Long. London: Bailliere, Tindall, and Cox, 1920. P. xviii + 492. pp. 287-288.

3. Ibid., p. 288.

4. Loc. cit.

The full statement of Jung's views on this subject is in¹ his Psychologische Typen, which appeared in 1920. He points out that Tertullian, Origen and the Gnostic philosophers as well as Abelard and Goethe all had written about a similar typology. He sees Luther as an extravert and Zwingli as an introvert. Jung relates the philosophy of Brahma and of Lao-Tze to his dichotomy and discusses the theological implications of his doctrine. He decries the Freudian emphasis on sexuality and the Adlerian emphasis on will to power and says that these² things are not so important as the attitude one has to them.

The introvert withdraws libido from objects, and the extravert's subjective attitude is oriented by, and related to, objects. These types are unconscious and override sex distinctions. They have a random distribution in the population.³ Types represent biological adaptations.

The Extravert

Objective rather than subjective value is important to the extravert. His only absolute values are outside himself. Hysteria is the most common neurosis of this type. Most modern science and empirical thinking are extravert. The unconscious

1. Psychological Types and the Psychology of Individuation.
Translated by H.G. Baynes. New York: Harcourt, Brace and
Company, 1923. P. xxii + 654.

2. Ibid., pp. 10-401.

3. Ibid., pp. 402-415.

of an extravert is usually compensatory and thus introverted. There are four subtypes: the thinking, feeling, sensation, and intuitive types.

The extraverted thinking type, usually found in men, tries constantly to bring his total life activities into relation with objective intellectual conclusions. Charles Darwin was an example of this type.

The extraverted feeling type needs objects as determinants of feeling. It is most pronounced among women. Fashion and philanthropy are representative interests of this type in whom feeling has become subject to conscious control. For example, women of this type will love a "suitable" man, rather than fall in love with a poor artist.

The extraverted sensation type is very realistic. His life is an accumulation of actual experience with concrete objects. To sense the object and to enjoy sensations are constant motives. Most people in this category are men.

The extraverted intuitive type is always aware of possibilities. Stable conditions give a feeling of suffocation. Nothing can restrain him from a new possibility, and there is danger that these individuals may squander their lives.¹

The Introvert

The introvert is governed by subjective factors, and interposes himself between perception of the object and his

1. Ibid., pp. 416-486.

own action, which prevents the action from corresponding with the objective situation. The typical neurosis of this group is psychasthenia, with great sensitivity and extreme fatigue.

The introverted thinking type is decisively influenced by ideas, which are usually very intensive rather than extensive. This type is not clear on how thoughts link up with reality, and is very dependent on intimate friends and associates. The philosopher Kant was representative of this type.

The introverted feeling type usually is found among women. This type is silent, retiring, inaccessible, melancholic, and hard to understand. Although actually harmonious and inconspicuous, the type's true motives are usually concealed.

The introverted sensation type is irrational and egocentric. There is no proportionate relation between object and sensation. There is estrangement from the reality of objects. His internal states completely dominate his perception of the world.

The introverted intuitive type produces rich imagery, mystical dreams, and becomes a fanatical crank or an artist. He displays unusual aloofness from tangible reality and is enigmatic.

Jung emphasizes that such pure types as the above do not occur too frequently in actuality but occur in mixed form.¹ No adequate and convincing research has been conducted to confirm the four subdivisions of Jung's two types.

1. Ibid., pp. 472-511.

G. More¹ has attempted to analyze these four subtypes and W. Stephenson² claims to have approximated these four subtypes by factor analysis. Neither researcher can be said to have proved their existence. Gray and Wheelright say that most of the early studies of Jung's typology are inadequate because of their ignoring the four subfunctions.³ They submit a seventy-five item questionnaire to get at these subgroups for clinical use.

The Ambivert

In 1923, Jung delivered a lecture on psychological types, slightly modifying his conclusions.⁴ He notes that hereditary disposition is the main cause of personality. He says that although motives are so varied, it is possible profitably to group people into those motivated from within and those motivated from without. However, it is necessary to realize that there is a third group of ambiverts which is more numerous than the other two groups, and which includes the less differentiated normal man, who is equally influenced both from within and from without. Jung feels that an introvert-extravert typology is by no means the only possible typology.

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1. "Gibt es ein Psychogenetisches Grundgesetz," Psychologische Rundschau, 2, (1930), pp. 257-260.
 2. "Methodological Considerations of Jung's Typology," Journal of Mental Science, 85, (1939), pp. 185-205.
 3. H. Gray and J.B. Wheelright, "Jung's Psychological Types; Their Frequency of Occurrence," Journal of General Psychology, 34, (1946), pp. 3-17.
 4. C.J. Jung, Contributions to Analytical Psychology. Translated by H.G. and C.F. Baynes. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1928. P. xi + 410. pp. 295-312.

Hinkle's Typology

Beatrice M. Hinkle, an American student of Jung, arrived simultaneously at the same general typology as that of Jung, working independently of him.¹ She says there is a psychological bipolarization into introvert and extravert categories, but holds that there are only three instead of four subgroups in each type: the objective, simple, and subjective. In sleep, everybody is an introvert because the individual is completely in relation to his own inner state and only responsive to outer stimuli to a very slight degree. Although Jung seems to regard the introvert as superior to the extravert, Hinkle favors the extravert.

Physiological Correlates of Jung's Types

Kempf was probably the first to have attempted to translate Jung's concepts into physiological terms.² He believed that introversion represents an affective dissociation because of an imbalance in the interaction of the autonomic and central nervous systems. The typical worry, self-consciousness, and ineffectual action of the introvert arise because the normal outflow of energy is prevented and it is redirected to the central nervous system, thus producing maladjustment. The

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1. B.M. Hinkle, The Re-Creating of the Individual: A Study of Psychological Types and Their Relation to Psychoanalysis. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1923. P.x + 464.pp.169-283.
 2. E.J.Kempf, The Autonomic Functions and the Personality. Washington: Nervous and Mental Disease Publishing Company, 1918. P. xiv + 156.

extravert tends to more direct adaptation.

McDougall, in 1926, held that introversion involved more activity of the higher cerebral centers and inhibition of the subcortical and lower centers. The extravert has no such inhibition and in effect, acts without thinking.¹

Marston believed that extraversion involves the expenditure of emotionally aroused energy outward on the environment, mainly through the skeletal musculature.² Introversion represents inhibition of peripheral expression and absorption by the organism of energy dissipated within it. Marston's study was particularly impressive because of the number of subjects (100) and the excellent experimental design. The children, aged two to five, were placed in four carefully selected situations, designed to measure social resistance, compliance, interest, and self assertion. The study showed that children as young as two years old are already introverted or extroverted.

Kempf, McDougall, and Marston seem to be writing about the introverted thinking type and the extraverted feeling type. How they would characterize the six other subtypes is not clear.³

Several other attempts have been made to link these types with physiological correlates. Hunt, in 1929, developed his erithitic and kolytic types, which are based on a combination

1. W. McDougall, Outline of Abnormal Psychology. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926. P. 442.

2. L.R. Marston, "The Emotions of Young Children, An Experimental Study of Introversion and Extraversion." University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare. First Series, 3, Number 95. (1925), P. 99.

3. K. Young, Personality and Problems of Adjustment, p. 310.

of introversion-extraversion and the nervous system. T. Furnk-¹
awa claimed in 1927 to have distinguished introvert from extra-²
vert by blood type, although his results remain unconfirmed.
Wiersma attempted, in 1923, to relate autonomic nervous system
types to introversion-extraversion, but his statistical treat-³
ment is cursory. Jones conducted an experiment which showed
that in infants, a mild stimulus produced either striped muscle⁴
behavior or visceral responses. He cautiously suggests this
as a precursor of adult extraversion or introversion. Sheldon's
distinction between viscerotonic and cerebrotonic types is⁵
analogous to Jung's dichotomy.

Jung's Typology and Racial Characteristics

A number of attempts have been made to describe various
racial and national characteristics as introvert or extravert.
McDougall described the Nordic race (sic) as introvert while⁶
the Mediterranean race (sic) is extrovert. He proves this by
taking a situation in which a man's wife leaves him for another.

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1. J. Hunt, "Erithitic and Kolytic Types," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 23, (1929), pp. 176-181.
 2. "A Study of Temperament By Means of Human Blood Groups," Japanese Journal of Psychology, 4, (1927), pp. 613-634.
 3. E.D. Wiersma, Bodily Build, Physiological and Psychological Functions. Amsterdam: 1933, cited by H.J. Eysenck, 6p. cit.p. 86.
 4. H.E. Jones, "The Galvanic Skin Reflex," Child Development, 1, (1930), pp. 106-110.
 5. W.H. Sheldon and S.S. Stevens, The Varieties of Temperament.
 6. W. McDougall, National Welfare and National Decay. London: Methuen and Company, 1921. P. 214.

An extravert would direct his anger against his rival, while an introvert would direct his anger against himself and might kill himself. He cites the high number of suicides in the Nordic countries of Scandinavia, England, and Australia, which is much greater than the number of suicides in the Mediterranean countries of Ireland, Italy, and Spain. However, McDougall conveniently omits from his theory those countries, like Scotland, which disprove his theory. He also omits a discussion of causes of suicide and fluctuations in suicide rates in the same country at different times.

Jolan Jacobi, a disciple of Jung, follows Jung's suggestion and calls the Middle Ages introverted and the Renaissance¹ extraverted. Modern historians, using more than Jung's intuitional approach, have exactly reversed this conclusion² about the two periods.

Hattingberg calls the French extraverted and the Germans³ introverted, although his reasons seem somewhat weak. Gray conducted a questionnaire study of Jung's typology on 1,000⁴ cases and found that Americans are extraverted. James

1. J. Jacobi, The Psychology of Jung. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943. P. xi + 166. p. 29.

2. J. Huizanga, The Waning of the Middle Ages. London. E. Arnold and Company, Limited, 1937. P. viii + 328.

3. H.V. Hattingberg, "Die Bedeutung der Polaren Psychologischen Typen fuer die Verstaendigung," Gesundheit und Wohlfart, 19, (1939), pp. 379-391.

4. H. Gray, "Jung's Psychological Types in Relation to Occupation, Race, Body Build," Stanford Medical Bulletin, 4, (1946), pp. 100-103.

Oppenheim, an American poet, attempted to translate Jung's typology to this country.¹ He found seven extraverted male types, four extraverted female types, six introverted male types, and two introverted female types. Oppenheim's approach is purely literary and impressionistic.

Aesthetics and Introversion-Extraversion

Art and aesthetics have made considerable use of Jung's typology, although most of this work has been done in Europe.² Herbert Read's Education Through Art is a justification of Jung's typology in aesthetic terminology. Read feels that Bullough, an English psychologist, has confirmed the value of Jung's types in aesthetics.³ Joan Evans believed that taste and temperament correspond both in creation and appreciation.⁴ She divided artists into quick and slow extraverts and introverts. It is impossible to persuade people to appreciate art to which they are temperamentally antipathetic. Read, Jung, and Evans, when writing about art, use argument by analogy and are usually more suggestive than convincing.

Williams, Winter, and Wood attempted a systematic analysis of art forms preferred by extroverts and introverts.⁵ They

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1. American Types. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1931. P. 210.
 2. London: Faber and Faber, 1943. P. xxi + 320.
 3. C. Bullough, "The Perceptive Problem in the Aesthetic Appreciation of Single Colors," British Journal of Psychology, 2, (1906), pp. 406-463, and "Recent Work in Experimental Aesthetics," British Journal of Psychology, 12, (1921), pp. 76-99.
 4. J. Evans, Taste and Temperament. London: Jonathan Cape, 1938. P. 120.
 5. E.D. Williams, L. Winter, J.M. Wood, "Tests of Literary Appreciation," British Journal of Educational Psychology, 8, (1938), pp. 265-284.

found that extraverts preferred simple, vivid, and strong art, which is simple and unified and vividly colored. Their preferences would include poetry, with rhyme and simple rhythm, polygons with simple outlines, and odors that are strong and obvious. The introverts preferred complex, more diversified pictures, more complex polygons, poems with less obvious rhyme and rhythm, and more subtle odors. Burt confirmed these results.¹ Eysenck, working with sixteen pairs of colored landscape paintings representing the classical and romantic approach, found that they confirmed the extravert-introvert dichotomy of taste.² Using factor analysis, Eysenck found an extraversion-introversion dimension in a study of paintings, photographs, poetry, and odors,³ as did Dewor.⁴

Mental Illness and Jung's Typology

Another area in which introversion-extraversion has been used is the study of mental diseases. Davie regards Jung's theory as essentially a libido theory of hysteria and dementia

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1. C. Burt, "The Factorial Analysis of Emotional Traits," Character and Personality, 7, (1939), pp. 238-254, 285-293.
 2. H.J. Eysenck, "A Critical and Experimental Study of Color Preferences," American Journal of Psychology, 54, (1941), pp. 385-394.
 3. H.J. Eysenck, "Type Factors in Aesthetic Judgements," British Journal of Psychology, 31, (1941), pp. 262-270.
 4. H. Dewor, "A Comparison of Tests of Artistic Appreciation," British Journal of Educational Psychology, 8, (1938), pp. 29-49.

praecox,¹ on which Jung has built his generalized and abstract theory. He feels that application of the theory requires an insight as unusual as Jung's. McDougall took over Jung's typology and said that there were two kinds of disorder, which he described as the hysteric or dissociative (extravert) and the neurasthenic or anxiety neurosis (introvert).² Curran³ and Lewis⁴ have convincingly shown no special predisposition of either introvert or extravert to specific mental illness.

The Confusion of Introversion and Neuroticism

Bernreuter has pointed up a serious mistake on the part of American questionnaire-makers in showing that questionnaires of introversion usually do not measure what Jung described as introversion but measure the same personality qualities as do⁵ questionnaires of neuroticism. Vernon, in England, got much⁶ the same result. He found that factor analysis gave a general factor of maladjustment - psychoneuroticism - introversion.

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1. J. M. Davie, "Jung's Theory of Psychological Types," Journal of Mental Science, 79, (1933), pp. 247-285.
 2. W. McDougall, Outline of Abnormal Psychology, p.440.
 3. D. Curran, "The Differentiation of Neuroses and Manic Depressive Psychoses," Journal of Mental Science, 83, (1937), pp.156-174.
 4. A. Lewis, "Melancholia: A Clinical Survey of Depressive States," Journal of Mental Science, 80, (1934), pp. 277-378.
 5. R.G. Bernreuter, "The Imbrication of Tests of Introversion-Extraversion and Neurotic Tendency," Journal of Social Psychology, 5, (1934), pp. 184-201.
 6. P.E. Vernon, The Assessment of Psychological Qualities by Verbal Methods. London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1938, p. 132.p.84.

Collier and Emck have convincingly explained the reason for this misunderstanding by showing that constructors of questionnaires seem to have used Freud's conception of introversion rather than Jung's.¹ Freud identifies introversion with² incipient neuroticism. Jung, however, specifically says that³ it is a mistake to believe that introversion can be equated with neurosis.

Another reason for this misunderstanding is a misreading of Jung. Tests of introversion-extraversion usually have many questions on sociability, although Jung himself never suggested that sociability was a criterion. This confusion first appears and is probably attributable to an influential article in 1924 by Freyd, which was one of the first serious⁴ studies of introversion-extraversion. He said that the extravert is more sociable than the introvert. It was just about this time that popular literature in America began spreading the idea that sociability is the hallmark of the extravert, while lack of sociability is the sign of the unhappy introvert.⁵ An article of the same period by Bingham also makes this mistake.

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1. R. Collier and M. Emck, "Introversion-Extraversion: the Concepts and Their Clinical Use," American Journal of Psychiatry, 94, (1938), pp. 1045-1075.
 2. S. Freud, General Introduction to Psychoanalysis, Translated by J. Riviere. New York: Horace Liveright, 1920. P. 412. P. 326.
 3. C.G. Jung, Psychological Types, pp. 472-475.
 4. M. Freyd, "Introverts and Extraverts," Psychological Review, 5, (1924), pp. 74-87.
 5. W.V. Bingham, "A Note on Effects of Introversion on Dominant Interests," British Journal of Psychology, 16, (1925), pp. 354-362.

Jung's point of view would be that lack of sociability can be regarded as associated with neurosis, but not as being necessarily associated with introversion. Fraser, in a study of 3,083 consecutive factory workers, found that this was a valid conclusion.¹ Another traditional belief to the effect that introverts' rich fantasy life may lead to schizophrenia, was made doubtful by Munroe and Levy, who found that children from good environments had a richer fantasy life than children from poor environments, without regard for their introversion and extraversion.² Modern psychiatry has also questioned Jung's belief that the hysteric is an extravert and the psychasthenic an introvert. A standard text book on psychiatry by Henderson and Gillespie points out that hysterics are often shy and reserved.³ Dubineau and Karpman⁴ suggest that Jung's typology⁵ may yet be useful in diagnosing mental illness. In general, this statement is yet to be proved.

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1. R. Fraser, "Incidence of Neurosis Among Factory Workers," unpublished report, quoted in H.J. Eysenck, Dimensions of Personality, p. 53.
 2. R.L. Munroe and J. Levy, unpublished research, quoted in G. Murphy and L. Murphy, Experimental Social Psychology, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1931. P. 709. p.414.
 3. D.K. Henderson and R.D. Gillespie, A Text Book of Psychiatry. New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1944. P.xii + 719. pp. 142-171.
 4. J. Dubineau, "Psychiatrie et Biotypologie," Année Médicale Psychologique, 101, (1943), pp. 200-210.
 5. B. Karpman, "Psychopathy in the Scheme of Human Typology," Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease, 103, (1946), pp.276-288.

Factor Analysis

A new area of research has recently been opened by factor analysis of introversion-extraversion. This technique analyzes intercorrelations among questionnaires, tests, and ratings to discover common factors which can be generalized. Thus, no factor analysis is better than the questions which make up the tests on which it is based. It is necessary to know that responses to items are actually valid indicators of the traits they are supposed to measure.¹ What comes out of factor analysis depends on what went into the tests in the first place. It is generally accepted that practice on specific tests changes their factor loading. Anything which makes scores on several tests intercorrelate with each other, like size, maturity, or similar training, will show up as a primary factor. Factor analysis is a valuable but still exploratory and not perfected technique.

J. P. Guilford, summarizing the literature in 1936, found only about a dozen well organized experiments on introversion-extraversion.² Shortly thereafter, he commenced an elaborate series of experiments in factor analysis of personality

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1. P.E. Meekl and S.R. Hathaway, "The K Factor As a Suppressor Variable in the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory," Journal of Applied Psychology, 30, (1946), pp. 525-564.
 2. J. P. Guilford, "Introversion-Extraversion," Psychological Bulletin, 31, (1934), pp. 331-354.

inventory responses, and got a series of thirteen dichotomous traits.¹ These were sociability - shyness, introspective - objective thinking, cheerful - depressed mood, stability of mood - fluctuation of mood, carefree disposition - overcontrolled disposition, overt activity - inertness, ascendance - submission, masculinity - femininity, confidence - inferiority, calmness - jumpiness, objectivity - subjectivity, cooperation - intolerance, agreeableness - belligerence.

The Guilfords' results stirred up considerable controversy. Burt and Eysenck in England claimed that the Guilfords' selection of their own rather than Burt's method of factor analysis gave a bipolar rather than a unitary factor.² Also in England, Mosier wrote to the Guilfords and examined their unpublished data, and claimed to have found a unitary factor rather than a bipolarity.³ P.E. Meekl and S.R. Hathaway showed that the test taking attitude enters significantly into some of the Guilfords' scales and makes it impossible to get an accurate measure of the characteristics they purport to study.⁴

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1. J.P. Guilford and R.E. Guilford, "An Analysis of the Factors in a Typical Test of Introversion-Extraversion," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 28, (1934), pp.377-399; "Personality Factors S,E, and M and Their Measurement," Journal of Psychology, 2, (1936, pp. 107-127; "Personality Factors D,R,T,A," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 34, (1939), pp. 21-36, 239-248.
 2. H. J. Eysenck, Dimensions of Personality, p. 38.
 3. C. I. Mosier, "A Factor Analysis of Certain Neurotic Symptoms," Psychometrika, 2, (1937), pp. 263-286.
 4. Meekl and Hathaway, op. cit.

Thus, the Guilfords' results, impressive as they first appear, still await confirmation and cannot be regarded as proof of an introversion-extraversion dichotomy of personality.

Lovell made a factor analysis of the correlation between total scores on the Guilfords' thirteen personality variables, and found that four of these superfactors accounted for most of the correlation.¹ She found these factors to be drive - restraint, realism, emotionality, and social adaptability. The drive - restraint factor showed high loadings on general drive, carefreeness, sociability or ascendance. The realism factor showed high loadings on masculinity, objectivity, freedom from nervousness and from inferiority. The emotionality factor showed high loadings on emotional stability, cheerfulness, and extroverted thinking. The social adaptability factor showed high loadings on lack of quarrelsomeness and tolerance. She believes that these findings indicate the presence of a hierarchy of personality traits. Any individual may have any combination of these four superfactors.

The distinguished English psychologist Sir Cyril Burt² has been conducting factor analyses of personality for some time.

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1. C. Lovell, "A Study of the Factor Structure of Thirteen Personality Variables," Educational and Psychological Measurement, 5, (1945), pp. 335-350.
 2. C. Burt, "The Factorial Analysis of Emotional Traits," Character and Personality, 7, (1939), pp. 238-254, 285-299, and "The Analysis of Temperament," British Journal of Medical Psychology, 17, (1937), pp. 158-188.

He has suggested a sthenic-asthenic bipolarity which resembles introversion-extraversion. He has used not questionnaire inventories, but ratings by people of others. Unfortunately, the behavior observations and initial ratings forming the basis of his whole statistical analysis are based on McDougall's classification of over thirty five years ago. It is generally believed today that McDougall's list of impulses is incomplete. Burt has used it in order to keep his results comparable over the years. However, using a contemporary trait list, he might have emerged with different factors.

An ambitious attempt to use factor analysis in personality study has been made by Cattell, and has led to a bipolar list of characteristics which is an expansion of introversion-¹ extraversion. Cattell assumed that language provides words for all relevant personality characteristics, and that if he started with all the traits for which there are names, he would have a picture of the "total personality sphere." He took Allport and² Odbert's list of 17,953 trait names, and added psychiatric and

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1. R.B. Cattell, "The Description of Personality: I. Fundamentals of Trait Measurement," Psychological Review, 50, (1943), pp. 559-594; "The Description of Personality: II. Basic Traits Resolved into Clusters," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 38, (1943), pp. 476-507; "The Description of Personality: III. Principles and Findings in a Factor Analysis," American Journal of Psychology, 58, (1945), pp. 69-90.
 2. G.W. Allport and H.S. Odbert, Trait -Names, A Psycho-lexical Study, Princeton and Albany: Psychological Review Company, 1936. P. 171.

psychological names. A psychologist and a student of literature grouped all synonyms and got 171 characteristics. One hundred adults were rated on these characteristics. This large number of ratings was correlated and grouped into clusters, with all traits which had a correlation of more than .45 going together. This reduced the number of clusters to thirty five. Two hundred and eight male adults, representing the population on all levels, were rated on these thirty five variables, and a factor analysis was made.

Cattell's factor analysis produced the following dichotomous groupings: cyclothymia - schizothymia, intelligence - mental deficiency, stable emotions - demoralized general morality, dominance - submission, hypersensitivity - phlegmatic frustration tolerance, optimism - melancholy, maturity - immaturity, adventurous - withdrawn, sensitivity - rigidity, neurasthenia - determination, culture - boorishness, and surgent cyclothymia - paranoid schizothymia. This list includes emotional, intellectual and character traits. There are thus several separate dimensions of traits instead of a single dichotomy of introversion-extraversion. There is considerable agreement between the Guilfords' thirteen factors based on inventory responses and Cattell's twelve factors, based on ratings by others. Little work has been done with Cattell's factors so it is not possible to measure their usefulness. It is, however, certainly the most ambitious attempt ever made to base a factor analysis on trait ratings completely representative of the whole observable personality, and it seems to indicate a general

bipolarity analogous to introversion and extraversion.

An attempt to examine a large group intensively by a variety of techniques was made in England by Eysenck and his nine collaborators.¹ This was a concentrated and cooperative effort to define the dimensions of personality operationally by strictly experimental and quantitative procedures. More than three dozen separate researches were conducted on some 700 neurotic subjects. Most of the theories of typology and personality had to be discarded because they were divorced from experimental control. The research was as rigorously objective as was possible. Eysenck believes that personality originates and develops through the interaction of intelligence, character, constitution, and temperament. In order to get at the personality of his population of 700 neurotic service men he had psychiatrists conduct intensive interviews with each man. A battery of tests was devised to measure traits. When desirable, previously existing tests were used or modified. A quantified Rorschach was one of the several dozen tests used. The administration of these tests and a factor analysis of them revealed a general factor of neuroticism and a general factor of extraversion-introversion. The general characteristics of the extraverted and introverted groups were obtained.

The introverted group was found to show anxiety, moodiness, and depression, along with good persistence and a high level of aspiration. Rigidity of personality was frequent. Intraperson

1. H.J. Eysenck, Dimensions of Personality. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, Limited, 1948. P. xi + 308.

variability was low but inter-person variability was high. In making mosaics, introverts made compact and concrete designs. They did not appreciate jokes and particularly disliked sex jokes. Their feelings were easily hurt. They tended to be leptomorphic or tall and slender in physique. They did not exert much effort in their activities. Physiological tests showed that their oxygen intake was high, their lactate level was high, and their pulse rate was high.

The extraverted group was found to be prone to hysterical conversion symptoms. It showed lack of persistence and a low level of aspiration. Extraverts had a tendency to be accident prone and to stammer. They frequently reported bodily aches. Level of aspiration was low and rigidity of personality was uncommon. Intra-person variability was high while interperson variability was low. In making mosaics, extraverts tended to make abstract and scattered designs. They liked jokes and particularly liked sex jokes. They tended to be euryomorphic or short and thick in physique. Their effort response was good. Physiological investigation showed that their oxygen intake was low, their lactate level was low, and their pulse rate was low.

In psychoanalytic parlance, the id is predominant in the extravert and the superego is predominant in the introvert. Eysenck disarmingly admits that "we do not claim that the factorial method can give us a definitive, final answer to all our questions . . . if factor analysis tells the truth and nothing but the truth, we need not condemn it for failing to tell

the whole truth."¹ This investigation gives every evidence of being as painstakingly objective as possible and of very thorough familiarity with what has been done previously in this field. It is an impressive and suggestive study and it is regrettable that the population selected for intensive study was restricted to 700 male neurotic service men, and that controls were diverse and small, although some 10,000 patients were available and were tested in all.

Even though the work of neither the Guilfords, Cattell, nor Eysenck may be regarded as definitive, it is worthy of note that all three, operating quite independently of each other, arrived at a general factor for introversion-extraversion, using different factorial techniques and different methods of appraising personality.

Other studies which report finding a general factor of introversion-extraversion by factor analysis are by L. G.² Studman,³ J. C. M. Garnett,⁴ D. Howie,⁵ D. V. Oates,

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1. Ibid., p. 35.
 2. "Studies in Experimental Psychiatry, V,W,F Factors in Relation to Traits of Personality," Journal of Mental Science, 81, (1935), pp. 107-137.
 3. "General Ability, Cleverness, and Purpose," British Journal of Psychology, 9, (1918), pp. 345-366.
 4. "Aspects of Personality in the Classroom," British Journal of Psychology, 36, (1945), pp. 15-28.
 5. "Group Factors in Temperament Qualities," British Journal of Psychology, 20, (1929), pp. 118-135.

C. H. McCloy,¹ W. Line and J. P. M. Griffin,² and J. C. Flanagan.³

Criticism and Comments

Lessa finds the Jungian typology too steeped in mysticism.⁴ Sicha says that although Jung's attempt to go into more internal processes is laudable, it is difficult to follow him because he elaborates and interrelates his types beyond the point of clarity.⁵ Spearman accepted Jung's typology and added that the introvert was perseverative and the extravert non-perseverative.⁶ Hertzfeld found that among lawyers in Holland, the typology was valid⁷ in that it represented a genuine dichotomy in the population. Assuming that introverted lawyers preferred rigid laws and extraverted lawyers prefer broadly stated laws, he found that the

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1. "A Factor Analysis of Personality Traits to Underlie Character Education," Journal of Educational Psychology, 27, (1926), pp. 375-387.
 2. "The Objective Determination of Factors Underlying Mental Health," American Journal of Psychiatry, 91, (1935), pp. 833-842.
 3. Factor Analysis in the Study of Personality. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1935. P. x + 103.
 4. W. A. Lessa, An Appraisal of Constitutional Typologies, p. 35.
 5. M. H. Sicha, A Study of the Rorschach "Erlebness-Typus" of Comparable White and Negro Subjects, pp. 10-15.
 6. C. Spearman, The Abilities of Man, pp. 45-50.
 7. C. A. J. Hertzfeld, "De la Typologies des Juristes," Archives de Psychologie (Geneve), 29, (1938), pp. 89-99.

Society of Dutch Jurists was divided forty six to forty five on an important policy discussion involving rigid laws as opposed to broadly stated laws.

Newcomb had a group of preadolescent boys at a summer camp rated by their counsellors.¹ He found extraversion-introversion to be present to a considerable extent. Heidbreder asked a group of 100 male and 100 female college students to rate their friends and also got personality questionnaires from her subjects.² She also found the presence of introversion - extraversion, but could not find any significant sex differences.

Gray and Wheelright reported that this typology was useful in marriage counselling, educational guidance, and military life.³ Their material is more programmatic than convincing. A book by Case is typical of many popular books on improving personality, in its emphasis on introversion-extraversion.⁴

Many pencil-and-paper tests have been devised to test introversion-extraversion in the classroom, factory, or office.⁵ Of these, the Root test is fairly representative. It poses

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1. T.M. Newcomb, Personality and Social Change, quoted by G. Murphy, Personality: A Biosocial Approach to Origins and Structure, p. 604.
 2. E. Heidbreder, "Measuring Introversion and Extraversion," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 21, (1927), pp.120-134.
 3. H. Gray and J.B. Wheelright, "Jung's Psychological Types," Journal of General Psychology, 33, (1945), pp. 265-284.
 4. V. Case, Your Personality - Introvert or Extravert? New York: The MacMillan Company, 1941. P. ix + 277.
 5. A.R. Root, "A Short Test of Introversion-Extraversion," Personnel Journal, 10, (1931), pp. 250-253.

several alternatives, the selection of which indicates the type. For example, the subject is asked how he prefers spending his spare time. The choices range from always reading and planning in one's spare time (typical introvert), to dividing one's spare time equally between reading and physical activity (typical ambivert), to spending all one's spare time in games (typical extravert). It is obvious that any subject who is test-wise may slant his answers to indicate extraversion, because of the feeling among many teachers and business leaders that introversion is unhealthy. These pencil-and-paper tests have been attacked in recent years by proponents of projective techniques like the Rorschach who say that the pencil-and-paper tests are neither valid nor reliable.

Stephenson decries the tendency to assume a one to one relation between a transient reaction on a psychological test and extraversion or introversion. He emphasizes the necessity for the use of correlations and factor analysis in studying this typology. "Any number of persons, P_1 . . . P_2 . . . are of one type if their intercorrelations satisfy the theorem of two

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1. I. Lorge, "Personality Traits By Fiat. I. The Analysis of the Total Trait Scores and Keys of the Bernreuter Personality Inventory," Journal of Educational Psychology, 26, (1935), pp. 321-330; D.D. Feder and L.O. Baer, "A Comparison of Test Records and Clinical Evaluations of Personality Adjustment," Journal of Educational Psychology, 32, (1941), pp. 133-144.
 2. W. Stephenson, "Methodological Considerations of Jung's Typology," Journal of Mental Science; 85, (1939), pp. 185-205.

factors, one factor being common to each trait and the other specific to each."¹

Stagner and Pessin made up a composite diagnostic test from other tests.² On the basis of administering this test to 171 male students, Jung's definitions of introversion and extraversion were found to be accurate. Conklin, however, found that most people are ambivert rather than extravert or introvert.³

Another example of the controversy centering around this subject is found in Neyman and Kohlstedt's finding that an introversion-extraversion questionnaire, derived from a study of 100 manic depressives and 100 schizophrenics, gave a bimodal distribution when applied to normal subjects.⁴ Root and Root gave the same questionnaire to a thousand normal subjects⁵ and got a unimodal normal distribution! Both Neyman and Kohlstedt as well as Root and Root assumed a one to one correspondence between raw scores and the strength of the trait assumed to underlie the scores.

1. Ibid., p. 204.

2. R. Stagner and J. Pessin, "The Diagnostic Value of Introversion-Extraversion Items," American Journal of Psychology, 46, (1934), pp. 321-324.

3. E.S. Conklin, "The Determination of Normal Extravert-Introvert Differences," Pedagogical Seminary, 34,(1927), pp. 28-37.

4. C.A. Neyman and K.D. Kohlstedt, "A New Diagnostic Test for Introversion-Extraversion," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 23, (1929), pp. 482-487.

5. Quoted by H.J. Eysenck, Dimensions of Personality, p. 16.

Roback, writing in 1927, demurs at the difficulty of applying Jung's system and the vagueness of its criteria.¹ He deplores Jung's ex post facto use of literature and history which enables him conveniently to ascribe traits which fit his scheme to historical figures, by selecting relevant material from their history. He regrets Jung's lack of familiarity with the writings of the French typologists like Ribot, Levy, Paulhan, Malapert and Ribery. Roback feels that this knowledge might have improved Jung's typology. Writing in 1937, Stagner feels that "the results of research seem overwhelmingly against the notion that we can classify everyone in the population as an extravert or an introvert."² He does feel that Jung made an important contribution to personality theory, and that his typology is of value in the clinic or in daily observation. He says that it is difficult to follow Jung's exposition because he alternates between a description based on people and one based on mental processes.³ Mullahy calls Jung's typology⁴ ". . . one of the best known and influential of his theories."

1. A.A. Roback, The Psychology of Character, pp. 288-291.

2. R. Stagner, Psychology of Personality. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1937. P. xi + 465. p. 245.

3. Loc. cit.

4. P. Mullahy, Oedipus Myth and Complex, p. 155.

Gray¹ and Delgado² have attempted to prove that people get more introverted as they grow older. The American psychiatrist,³ W.A. White, regarded introversion as a retrogression to a less clearly defined individuality and to a phylogenetically older and more diffuse form of contact with reality. Writing at about the same time, Tansley held the diametrically opposed view that extraversion rather than introversion is a more primitive biological function of the mind.⁴

The theme of introversion-extraversion is found in Babinski and Frament's suggestible and non-suggestible types,⁵ and Downey's careful-careless and persistent - non-persistent types,⁶ as well as Allport's ascendance-submission.⁷ Strauss⁸

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1. H. Gray, "Psychological Types and Change with Age," Journal of Clinical Psychology, 3, (1947), pp. 273-277.
 2. H. Delgado, La Personalidad y el Caracter. Lima: Editorial Lumen, 1946. P. 207.
 3. Mechanisms of Character Formation: An Introduction to Psychoanalysis. New York: Macmillan Company, 1926. P. 342.p.288
 4. A.G. Tansley, The New Psychology and Its Relation to Life. London: G. Allen and Unwin, Limited, 1920. P. 283.p. 88.
 5. F.J. Babinski and J. Frament, Hysteria or Pithiatism.
 6. J.E. Downey, The Will Temperament and Its Testing. Yonkers: World Book Company, 1923, P. v + 339.
 7. G.W. Allport, "A Test for Ascendance-Submission," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 23, (1928), pp. 118-124.
 8. A.A. Strauss, "Typology in Mental Deficiency," American Association for Mental Deficiency Proceedings, 44, (1939), pp. 85-90.

finds that mental deficiency can be divided into an exogenous and endogenous classification analogous to introversion-extraversion. These two types differ in their growth rate and the influence of the environment.

A good summary of the different definitions of introversion and extraversion can be found in an article by Guilford and Braley.¹ Generally speaking, these definitions have little operational connotation and are vague. They usually agree that introverts are more subjective and extraverts are more objective; that introverts emphasize cerebral activity while extraverts emphasize overt behavioral activity; and that introverts tend to self control while extraverts tend to lack of self control. Woodworth, however, warns that so many different traits are subsumed under introversion that there is little likelihood of any close correlation among them.²

An interesting study of introversion and extraversion³ was conducted by Diamond. He found that introversion and extraversion were not fixed and unchanging, but that young adults studied over a three year period changed from introverts to

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1. J.P. Guilford and K.W. Braley, "Extraversion and Introversion," Psychological Bulletin, 27, (1930), pp. 66-107.
 2. R.S. Woodworth, "Constitutional and Mental Types," Abstract of the Second Conference on Research in Child Development. Washington: National Research Council, (1927), pp. 108-109.
 3. S. Diamond, "A Study of the Influence of Political Radicalism on Personality Development," Archives of Psychology, (1936), Number 203. P. 53.

extraverts as they became involved in radical politics. The results of this study are broadened by E. A. Rundquist and R. F. Sletto, who produced impressive documentation to prove that when a situation is viewed impersonally, attitude measurement produces a normal distribution, but when a situation is viewed personally, a bimodal distribution is reached.¹

P. Schilder emphatically announces his dislike of Jung's typology because of its lack of depth.²

Summary

Many and varying comments have been made about Jung's typology. It is the most influential and best known of all typologies³, and has received wide general recognition. Modern research has tended to abandon Jung's four subtypes as being too complicated. Jung presented no data but used the method of historical analogy and vague reference to his clinical experience. This has given way to the new technique of operationally defined constructs which are obtained by using factor analysis. Three careful large-scale researches using factor analysis have confirmed the existence of an 'introversion-extra-version dimension, and several other researches using factorial methods have also confirmed it. The system is analogous to and

1. Personality in the Depression: A Study in the Measurement of Attitudes. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1936. P. xxii + 398.

2. Psychotherapy, p. 97.

3. As measured by the frequency of its use in psychological tests, popular usage, and by the number of articles and researches using it, as listed in Psychological Abstracts, 1927-1950.

contemporary with that of Rorschach although Rorschach denies any affinity.

The system is internally consistent and has considerable pragmatic value. The original purpose of the system was to chart universal psychic patterns, and it cannot be said that Jung has done this satisfactorily. Its predictive power has never been confirmed scientifically and because of the system's lack of understanding of dynamics, does not appear to be great. It has proved to be of practical value in the study of aesthetics and in popular psychology. There is sharp controversy over its value in the study of mental illness.

Opinions about the system have differed and still differ. In spite of the suggestive results of the studies in factor analysis quoted above, most American psychologists do not believe in a sharp extraversion-introversion dichotomy. They would say that most people are ambiverted or sometimes introverted¹ and sometimes extraverted, depending on the situation. It has inspired a vast amount of research and added some insight to our approach to personality. The relationships between age and type, or maturation and type, have never been satisfactorily

1. This observation is based on a study of standard psychology textbooks such as those by R. S. Woodworth, N. L. Munn, G. W. Allport, J. B. Watson, J. F. Dashiell, E. G. Boring, H. S. Longfeld, and H. P. Weld.

explained and the degree to which a person may change his type is uncertain. Jung's bias in favor of heredity ignores environment and has made it difficult to determine how experience affects one's type, if it does so at all. Until many more researches are performed, many vital questions raised by Jung's types will remain unanswered. This typology has not given definitive evidence of possessing great illuminative power.

CHAPTER V

THE RORSCHACH TYPOLOGY

The typology created by Hermann Rorschach is of particular importance because it is an integral part of the Rorschach ink blot test of personality, which is generally regarded as the¹ most widely used clinical test of personality in America. In scoring the Rorschach test, the clinician computes the experience type (Erlebnistypus) of the subject, and as two experienced clinicians point out, "the importance of the experience type in Rorschach interpretation cannot be overestimated. All other personality traits acquire specific direction and align themselves in different patterns according to whether the individual belongs to one or the other experience type."²

The use of the Rorschach has been expanding rapidly since 1940 and some idea of the amount of attention it receives can be obtained from noting that a book published on the Rorschach technique in 1946 gave a bibliography of 642 titles.³ Since 1946, some 250 or 300 articles a year have appeared on this

1. R. Bochner and F. Halpern. The Clinical Application of the Rorschach Test. New York: Grune and Stratton, 1945. P. x + 331. p. viii.

2. Ibid., p. 56.

3. B. Klopfer and D. M. Kelley, The Rorschach Technique. Yonkers: World Book Company, 1946. P. x + 475.

test.¹ The training of a clinical psychologist is not considered complete until he has learned the Rorschach technique. An authoritative manual on Diagnostic Psychological Testing devotes² three times as much space to the Rorschach as to any other test, and announces that "with the advent of the Rorschach Test, the door to projective testing of personality and maladjustment was for the first time boldly thrown open. Today this test still stands as the most useful tool of its kind, and as the most³ widely used tool in diagnostic personality testing." Some psychologists who remember the way in which Terman's revision of the Binet Scale and the concept of the Intelligence Quotient⁴ swept over American psychology some thirty years ago have compared the enthusiastic acceptance of Terman's Stanford-Binet as a psychological panacea to the contemporary enthusiasm over the Rorschach. Thus, this typology is one which is used daily as a matter of course in many clinics and its significance and importance are great.

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1. Figures obtained from Psychological Abstracts, 1946-1950.
 2. D. Rapaport, M. Gill, and R. Schafer, Diagnostic Psychological Testing, The Theory, Statistical Evaluation, and Diagnostic Application of a Battery of Tests. Chicago: Year Book Publishers, 1946. Volume 1, P. xi + 573, 2, P. xi + 516.
 3. Ibid. 2 p. 85.
 4. L. M. Terman, Condensed Guide for the Stanford Revision of the Binet-Simon Intelligence Tests. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1920, P. 32.

Justinus Kerner, in a book called Klektographien, published in 1857, in Tuebingen, Germany, was probably the first person to produce ink blots deliberately.¹ He noticed that the blots seemed to impose their meaning differently on each subject who saw them. In 1895, A. Binet, the founder of modern intelligence testing, suggested the use of ink blots for studying personality.² The American educational psychologist, G. M. Whipple, published the first series of standardized ink blots.³

The transformation of the ink blot test into a workable instrument remained for Herman Rorschach, who was born in 1884 in Zurich, Switzerland, and received his medical degree in 1910. He began working with ink blots in 1911, and while working at various mental hospitals pursued this interest. He experimented with thousands of ink blots, and finally emerged with a standard series of ten ink blots. They are reproduced on cards 7" x 9½". Five blots are made with colored ink as well as black ink, and these are interspersed among the black and white blots in such a manner as to surprise the subject when they appear, so that his reaction to the color will be spontaneous. The cards are

1. Klopfer and Kelley, op. cit., p. 2.

2. A. Binet and V. Henry, "La Psychologie Individuelle," Annee Psychologique, 2, (1895-1896), pp. 411-465.

3. G. M. Whipple, Manual of Mental and Physical Tests. Baltimore: Warwick and York, 1910. P. xix + 534. pp. 430-435.

numbered from 1 to 10, and are administered to the subject in that order.

Rorschach began using his series of ten cards in diagnosing patients, and made his first communication on the subject at a meeting of the Swiss Psychoanalytic Society in 1920. Rorschach had been trained as a psychoanalyst and regarded the test, from one point of view, as a means of getting at the patient's unconscious. In 1921, the results of his researches were published in a monograph called Psychodiagnostik.¹ He regarded this monograph as a preliminary report of his researches, rather than a definitive system. However, his thinking was so precise and his flair for expression so well developed that many clinicians still regard his original manual to be the best introduction to the Rorschach test, rather than the hundreds of articles and books which have been written on the subject.

In April, 1922, Rorschach died at the age of thirty seven of complications after an appendicitis attack. After Rorschach's death, a medical colleague, Emil Oberholzer, became the leader of the Rorschach movement. In 1923, he published a paper on The Application of the Interpretation of Form to Psychoanalysis.² This paper appeared in 1924 in translation in the United States.

1. Psychodiagnostik. Berne: Hans Huber Verlag, 1921. P. 255.

2. It appears in H. Rorschach, Psychodiagnostics, A Diagnostic Test Based on Perception. Translated by P. Lemkau and B. Kronenberg. New York: Grune and Stratton, 1942. P. 238. pp. 186-215.

The paper was revised by Oberholzer and Rorschach's wife, who was herself a physician. It was originally intended to be read at a 1922 meeting of the Swiss Psychoanalytic Society. It consists of a "blind" analysis by Rorschach of a Rorschach protocol, produced by a patient who was being psychoanalyzed by Oberholzer. It runs to twenty nine pages and is fairly elaborate. Rorschach's conclusions on the patient are that he has an unconscious expectancy to be passive and that he unconsciously longs to experience the power of his father. His neurosis results from the conflict of this unconscious longing and its conscious repression.¹ Rorschach, however, was quite cautious in his conclusions and only states them tentatively as suggestive hypotheses. In his summary, Rorschach distinguishes three levels of interpretation: the interpretation of the quantification of the scoring categories, the qualitative sequence and pattern analysis of responses, and psychoanalytic inferences.² It has been pointed out, however, that the psychoanalytic inferences are not an integral part of the test.³ Generally speaking, probably the only psychoanalytic concept which all or most Rorschach workers use to some extent is that of unconscious motivation.

1. Ibid., p. 216.

2. Ibid., pp. 205-215.

3. Klopfer and Kelley, op. cit., pp. 67.

Many refinements and changes have been made in the technique of administering and scoring the test. Usually, the subject faces the psychologist and after some comments designed to establish rapport and to recall to the subject the game of "blotto," or after making a sample ink blot with a pen, and showing it to the subject, the psychologist tells the subject to tell him everything he sees in the ink blots which will be shown. Emphasis is given the fact that there are no right or wrong answers, and that anything and everything should be reported. After the subject has reported what he sees on all the cards, the investigator goes over them again with the subject, asking him to show exactly where he observes the percept, which is usually traced by the investigator on small replicas of the Rorschach cards. After this has been done, many testers now use a "testing the limits" technique, in which they try to discover the reason for any gaps, omissions, or unusual responses by asking the subject directly why he omitted noticing any usually found percepts or whether he would have thought a particular percept to be there if it were another color, and the like.

The Experience Types

The responses are scored, in that letter symbols are used to indicate the part of the card used, why the percept was seen, and its content. The determinant, which is a statement of why

1. Klopfer and Kelley, op. cit., pp. 51-58.

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the subject saw the percept - whether its movement, its shading, its color, or its form - is used in arriving at the Erlebnistypus, or experience type. The weighted ratio used to get this is the human movement: sum of color responses (M: Sum C), with every pure color response (C) counting $1\frac{1}{2}$, every response in which form is more important than color (FC) $\frac{1}{2}$, and every response in which color is more important than form (CF) as 1. Rorschach postulates three reaction types: introversive (M preponderance), extratensive (C preponderance) and ambiequal or ambivert (both M and C important).

Rorschach holds that for the introversive (M) type, the test is play, while for the extratensive (C), it is work. He says that the introversive type shows a predominance of personalized response productivity, intensive rapport, stable affect, awkwardness, inadequate adaptability to reality, and inadequate extensive rapport. This type is often colloquially called introverted.¹ He cautions that "I wish to emphasize that I am going to use the concept introversion in a sense which has almost nothing in common with Jung's except the name."²

He notes that the C or extratensive type is characterized by an urge to live in the world outside himself, restless motility, and unstable affective reactions.³ Rorschach repeats that

1. Rorschach, op. cit., p. 81.

2. Ibid., p. 82.

3. Loc. cit.

this typology is the result of a psychological experiment, with any and all results empirically derived, with a constant checking of observations on normal subjects as well as patients.¹

"It is always daring to draw conclusions about the way an individual experiences life from the results of an experiment. In this case. . .the conclusions are supported' by many diagnostic controls and the experience types developed have been confirmed by clinical observations in the psychoses."²

He feels that the introversive and extratensive orientations comprise independent groups of psychisms, the relations between which govern the experience type of the individual. These psychisms are inherent and primary qualities of the personality. The experience type shows how a person experiences, but not how he lives. Thus, an introversive person may behave extratensively. Such discrepancies can be explained by assuming that the libido is oriented in such a manner as to allow only part of the faculties for experiencing to be in operation. An individual's equipment for assimilating experiences is broader than that which he uses in living. The Erlebnistypus shows the limits of a person's potential but not what he uses to live.³

Rorschach points out that some features of the personality

1. Ibid., p. 13.

2. Ibid., p. 87.

3. Loc. cit.

as measured by the test, are subject to increase by conscious volition. These features are: poor form (F-), clarity of form (F), accuracy of association (F+), the ability to discipline and distribute logical energy (sequence), and the ability to give stereotyped responses (% of animal responses). Some phases of the personality are not subject to conscious volitional increase: associative energy (whole responses), freedom from stereotypy (animal %), originality of association (original responses), and capacity for inner creation (human movement). The coarctated introversive type, says Rorschach, has a predominance of factors which can be increased. This type sacrifices the ability to experience fully. The adaptive extratensives are¹ dominated by the logical function and stereotypy.

The introversives offer a variety of constellations. In the normal ambiequal subject, introversive as well as extratensive features are equally strong. The manic ambiequal type is extratensive, and shows motor excitement without many human movement and color responses, while the catatonics show motor blocking. In the egocentric extratensives, the logical function² is weak and affect is not sufficiently controlled.

Moods of depression lead to a narrowing of the Erlebnis-typus, and thus coarctation leads to dull and indolent activity. Elated moods lead to a broadening of the Erlebnistypus, and thus

1. Ibid., p. 91.

2. Ibid., p. 92.

to emotional expansiveness. Common experience, says Rorschach, confirms this, for we know that an elated mood increases the feeling of capacity for experience, while depression makes it¹ difficult to enjoy anything.

The results of the test give a fairly certain judgement of the subject's Erlebnistypus. The capacity to narrow and broaden the experience type varies among individuals. After each expansion, the experience type probably returns to its habitual state. Pain and mass suggestion may also change it. After puberty, the personality's experience type is formed. Rorschach calls for research to determine how the experience type changes with age, race, and sex. For example, even in so small a country as Switzerland, Rorschach's experiments show that the Bernese are more introversive, while the Appenzeller² are more extratensive.

Rorschach feels that the introversives are mostly kinesi-
thetically minded, while extratensives emphasize the auditory
sense. The experience type probably conditions the kind of
imagery and perception which characterizes people. Extratensives
usually hallucinate in the auditory sphere while introversives
usually have hallucinations in the area of bodily sensations.
Ambiequals hallucinate in all senses. Introversives are found
often among musicians, linguists, practical people, technicians,

1. Ibid., p. 93.

2. Ibid., pp. 96-97.

dancers, and speakers. Among painters, introversives may be expected to be symbolists and expressionists, working in black and white. Extratensive painters are naive and impressionistic, and work in colors, while ambiverts synthesize form and color. Extratensives are elegant dancers, while introversives enjoy rhythmic dancing. Introversives have more individualistic handwriting while extratensives write with greater skill in traditional patterns. Introversives make individually specific gestures, while extratensives use the more traditional movements. Introversives are cultured but extratensives are civilized. Rorschach feels that introversives would be likely to admire the philosophy of Schopenhauer, while extratensives would be likely to look to Christian Science. Even a person's talents, or the form of an illness may be determined by the experience type.¹

The development of the experience type, says Rorschach, is a process of coarctation which is conditioned by the growth of disciplined thinking. Coarctated types are the result of the over-effectiveness of this process. The normal ambiequal type represents the optimum result of the development of the experience type. He believes that the reason for the predisposition to one type or another is a sort of functional preparedness of certain pathways of the central nervous system and thus may have a physiological basis.²

1. Ibid., pp.109-110.

2. Ibid., pp.118-119.

Each experience type has distinctive intelligence, character, perception and imagery, talent, sense hallucinations, neuroses or psychoses. The type shows the apparatus or form or pattern within which the person can act, but not that action itself. Disciplined thinking has the effect of narrowing the experience type, and tends to narrow the capacity to experience.¹

The Erlebnistypus changes with age. In the third or fourth year, it is ambiequal, and is also so in puberty, after which differentiation appears. Around the thirtieth year, an introversive tendency develops. After the fortieth year, pronounced features are likely to be subdued. After the sixtieth year, coarctation may become more pronounced until complete coarctation is reached (no movement or color responses), or the previous experience type may grow, or the type may change in an extratensive direction, reaching the egocentric-extra-²tensive type which may end in senile dementia.

The Erlebnistypus may be related to the psychoanalytic concept of regression in which a patient will revivify events connected with previous fixations. In such cases, it may be that the whole earlier experience type is the object of the fixation. The return of the Erlebnistypus to its former state may reactivate the entire previous mode of living.

1. Ibid., p. 183.

2. Ibid., pp. 95-96.

Comments and Criticism

The concept of experience type has been generally accepted by Rorschach workers everywhere. The only significant change is that some researchers have devised a subsidiary ratio to express introversive and extratensive tendencies not completely accepted or used by the subject. This ratio is $(FM + m) : (Fc + c + C')$ or animal movement + inanimate movement: form-shading + shading + black and gray used as color. If this quotient is similar to the $M : \text{sum}C$ quotient, the latter is strengthened. If it is not similar, the subject is in a state of transition of his experience type and the $(FM + m) : (Fc + c + C')$ quotient shows the nature of the transition.¹

A number of investigators have worked with the concepts of color and form reaction and most of them have confirmed Rorschach's results. As long ago as 1904, the American psychologist Kuhlmann noticed that mental defectives seemed to fall into two such categories.²

A. Descoeudres, working with children in France, confirmed one of Rorschach's observations when she found that children's sensitivity to color decreased with age.³

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1. B. Klopfer and D.M. Kelley, The Rorschach Technique, pp.253-254.
 2. F. Kuhlman, "Experimental Studies in Mental Deficiency: 3 cases of imbecility and 6 cases of feeble mindedness," American Journal of Psychology, 15, (1904), pp. 391-402.
 3. "Couleur, Forme, ou Nombre? Recherches Experimentales sur le Choix Suivant l'Age, le Sexe, et l'Intelligence," Archives de Psychologie, 14, (1914), pp. 305-358.

P. Engel, testing a large number of children, found that color/form preference was a significant differentiating criterion¹ of people.

Lindberg confirmed another type hypothesis of Rorschach in testing a large number of adults and school children in Denmark.² He found that manic depressives are more prone to see color than schizophrenics.

Scholl³ and Lueth⁴ found that schizoids and schizophrenics are characterized by a non-color attitude, while manic depressives are prone to use color, thus confirming Rorschach's typology.

A number of other investigators got similar results, finding that subjects who were color oriented had considerable homogeneity⁵ of personality.

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1. "Ueber die Teilinhaltliche Beachtung von Farbe und Form. Untersuchungen an 800 Schulkindern," Zeitschrift fuer Paedagogische Psychologie, 36, (1935), pp. 202-216.
 2. B.J. Lindberg, Experimental Studies of Color and Non-Color Attitude in School Children and Adults. Copenhagen: Levin and Munksgaard, 1938. P. 85.
 3. R.Scholl, "Zur Theorie und Typologie der Teilinhaltlichen Beachtung von Form und Farbe," Zeitschrift fuer Psychologie, 101, (1927), pp. 281-320.
 4. K.F. Lueth, "Ueber Vererbung und Konstitutionelle Beziehungen der Vorwiegenden Form-und Farbeachtung," Zeitschrift fuer Menschliche Vererbungs und Konstitutionslehre, 19, (1935), pp. 61-81.
 5. O.Poppinga, "Die Teilinhaltliche Beachtung von Form und Farbe bei Erwachsenen in ihrer Beziehung zur Strukturpsychologischen Typenlehre," Zeitschrift fuer Psychologie, 121, (1931), pp. 137-177; W.Enke, "Experimentalpsychologie Studien zur Konstitutionsforschung," Zeitschrift fuer die gesamte Neurologie und Psychiatrie, 114, (1928), pp. 770-794.

O.A. Oeser gave the Rorschach test to thirty two subjects, who had previously been tested by a tachistoscope and classified into form-dominant and color-dominant. He found these two types to be distinct, with distinct reactions even on the unconscious level. He found that the Rorschach confirmed the tachistoscope findings.¹

One group of experimenters found that those who were form-dominant and those who were color-dominant produced as well as preferred different kinds of music and paintings.²

A South American investigator found analogous though not similar findings.³ His results led him to divide people into two classes: those who preferred nearness to distance (plesioclisis), and those who preferred distance to nearness (teleclisis). Infants are plesioclistic, become teleclistic in puberty, and in old age revert to plesioclisis. His description of his two types is analogous to Rorschach's types.

A. Loew made a study of association and recognition from the typological point of view.⁴ He used two series of nonsense

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1. "Some Experiments on the Abstraction of Form and Color," British Journal of Psychology, 22, pp. 287-323.
 2. O. Kroh, D. Lamparter, and H. Lamparter, Experimentalle Beitrage Zur Typenkunde. Berlin: Springer, 1932. P. xvi + 356.
 3. W. Blumenfeld, "Psychology and Typology of Nearness and Distance," Revista de Ciencias, (Lima), 42, (1940), pp. 917-950; 43, (1941), pp. 3-48.
 4. "Assoziation und Wiederkennen in Typenkundlichen Beleuchtung," Zeitschrift fuer Psychologie, 143, (1948), pp. 212-298.

syllables. In one series, a syllable was presented and the subject associated to it. In the other series, the recognition technique was employed; the subject pronounced a presented pair to be right or wrong. One group got a good score in the association test, and did poorly on the recognition method. The other group reversed these results. On a color-form test, it was found that the associationists were color perceivers, while the recognitionists were form perceivers.

Bryn attempted to correlate the typologies of Rorschach and Jaensch, both of which are based on perception.¹ He reported that there was no significant correlation, because the eidetic imagery measured by Jaensch seems to be a more elementary function than the complexities measured by the Rorschach test. Inasmuch as different levels of personality are reached by the two tests, no comparison is possible.

The psychiatrist, Frederic Wertham, also studied the relationship between the eidetic integrate-disintegrate type and the Rorschach extratensive-introversive types.² He summarized several attempted comparisons between the two systems. He found that most of the experiments were poorly controlled but that some slight relationship does exist between the systems.

1. D. Bryn, "The Problem of Human Types: Comments and an Experiment," Character and Personality, 5, (1936), pp. 48-60.

2. "Progress in Psychiatry. IV: Experimental Type Psychology," Archives of Neurology and Psychiatry, 24, (1930), pp. 605-611.

A Swiss psychiatrist attempted to verify Rorschach's contention that different national groups gave different experience types.¹ Loosli-Usteri found that children in a German orphan asylum and a Swiss school gave different experience types, and in a later test, found that elementary school children in Switzerland and Germany also had different experience types.

The most thorough attempt to study racial influences on the Erlebnistypus is a thesis by Mary Hunter Sicha.² Sicha defines Erlebnistypus "as the way in which one experiences,"³ and says of Rorschach that "while his discoveries in regard to the character and estimation of general intelligence are of value, it is his concept of the 'Erlebnistypus' which is of greatest importance."⁴ Sicha notes that although Rorschach made no formal validation studies, his validation consisted of comparing the patient's psychogram or test results with the psychiatric clinical diagnosis. He claimed almost complete correspondence between the two. The usual statistical methods of estimating validity or reliability cannot be applied, says Sicha, because of the lack of parallel ink blot plates.

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1. M. Loosli-Usteri, "Application of the Rorschach Test to Different Groups of Children," Archives de Psychologie, 22, (1929), pp. 51-106.
 2. A Study of the Rorschach "Erlebnis-Typus" of Comparable White and Negro Subjects. Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1939. P. 138.
 3. Ibid., p. 23.
 4. Loc. cit.

Sicha took 100 Negro and 100 white subjects, women and men, equated for education, socio-economic status, intelligence, and professional status. She scored the Rorschach protocols and as a check, had them independently scored by some Rorschach experts, among them Z. Piotrowski of New York, M.M. Hertz of Cleveland, and P. Vernon of Cambridge University. Their scorings agreed with hers.

She found that twenty nine whites and seventeen Negroes were introversive. Fifty three whites were extratensive, while seventy two Negroes were extratensive. She also found that eleven whites and seven Negroes were ambivert, and seven whites and four Negroes were coarctated.

Thus, Negroes were more extratensive than white to a statistically significant degree. The number of Negro introversives was only 60% of the number of white introversives. The average Negro gave 2. 21 times as many extratensive as introversive responses, while the average white gave .93 times as many. Her scorings were not only checked by experts but were in general agreement with previously published records.

She concludes that the "test does seem capable of distinguishing between two opposed apperception types. . .it is in a form which may be given with relative ease and dispatch. . . possibilities for adaptation for vocational guidance and more specialized methods of education (are) numerous."¹ She notes

1. Ibid., p. 57.

that if the technique of presenting knowledge to each type is worked out, education may be able to dispense with needless academic drill. Attention to type may help shorten clinical work with children in deciding how best to resocialize them, either by group therapy or individual therapy.

The treatment of the experience type by Rapaport is typical of that in many Rorschach manuals.¹ He shows how it is possible to approach it from the point of view of its dilation or coarctation, or the viewpoint of which side (color or movement) is more heavily weighted. He discusses the differential significance of its weighting and gives advice on how to use the Erlebnistypus in diagnosis.

Sherif's injunction is relevant in showing the possible place of the experience type in social psychology. "The first important step in social psychology, is to analyze the way we react to a perceptual field."²

Summary

This system of typology can be said to have realized its purpose of differentiating experience types. It permits recognition of changes with age, although it minimizes the effect of the environment in producing such changes. It is a tool which gives considerable predictive power and which has immediate

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1. D. Rapaport, M. Gill, and R. Schafer, Diagnostic Psychological Testing, Volume 2, pp. 267-279.
 2. Muzafer Sherif, The Psychology of Social Norms, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1936. P. xii + 209. p. 78.

pragmatic value. It is not rigid in that it permits a statement of how much or how little of each of the two basic orientations people have. Although it seems similar to Jung's system, it has more empirical foundation. Its illuminative power is considerable. Its use for groups is still experimental. It appears to have little in common with the Jaensch's eidetic types of perception.

There are some psychologists who hold that the Rorschach test itself has not been scientifically validated. However, the great majority of clinicians and psychologists recognize it as a very useful technique which is valid for their purposes. Not the least of its valuable features, many feel, is the concept of the experience type.

Although the Erlebnistypus concept has not been separately validated, some suggestive researches have been conducted which show the possibility of empirically dividing people into form-dominant and color-dominant categories. Although the Rorschach distinction is between color-dominance and movement-dominance, no researches have been conducted to validate this dichotomy and the color-form researches can be regarded only as suggestive rather than definitive. The Rorschach typology is internally consistent and forms a self-contained whole.

CHAPTER VI

KAREN HORNEY'S TYPOLOGY

Karen Horney practiced psychoanalysis in the orthodox manner for fifteen years in Berlin. Her coming to America some twenty years ago and her contact with American thinking helped to crystallize many of her doubts about the theories of Freudian psychoanalysis. She has created considerable popular as well as scientific discussion by a series of books on psychoanalysis and self analysis, published between 1935 and the present.¹ She is primarily identified with the conception of anxiety as the cause of neurosis, as opposed to the orthodox Freudian conception of the inadequate resolution of the Oedipus Complex as the cause of neurosis. She has made vigorous statements protesting the derogation of women in Freudian psychoanalysis. The work of Erich Fromm and its emphasis on cultural factors in forming personality and neurosis has influenced her considerably. Her theories of typology are of unusual interest because of her great prestige and the influence of her psychoanalytic training institute in New York. This institute also has a branch for lay enthusiasts and followers of her doctrines, the Auxiliary Council of the Association for the Advancement of Psychoanalysis, which sponsors well attended public lectures.

1. The Neurotic Personality of Our Time, Our Inner Conflicts, Are You Considering Psychoanalysis, New Ways In Psychoanalysis.

Her books are published by a non-technical publisher,¹ and are written in simple and non-technical language, and are national² best sellers.

Horney presents her theory of typology in Our Inner Con-³
flicts, A Constructive Theory of Neurosis, published in 1945. She says that her typology is not meant to be definitive. Her theory stems from observation of individuals undergoing psychoanalysis, who are relatively "pure" cases, and who are predominantly either compliant or aggressive or detached. The basic attitude toward others which distinguished each type has permitted the growth of "needs, qualities, sensitivities, inhibitions, anxieties, and last but not least, a particular set of values."⁴

The Compliant Type

The compliant type is primarily characterized by moving toward people. He shows an unusual need for affection and approval and for a partner. These needs, like all neurotic trends, may become compulsive and indiscriminate and generate anxiety or depression if they are frustrated. These needs are operative almost independently of the intrinsic worth of the people who supply the affection. Human intimacy is eagerly sought. This type will overrate his congeniality and seek to be helped, protected, and desired, and will give blindly to others while subordinating himself. He will automatically assume blame rather

1. W.W. Norton and Company.

2. P. Mullahy, Oedipus, Myth and Complex, pp. 208-209.

3. Our Inner Conflicts, New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1945, pp. 48-96.

4. Ibid., p. 48.

than accuse others. He will be apologetic and will minimize aggressive behavior. Assertive, critical, or ambitious conduct¹ is uncommon.

This type will not enjoy things by himself. His characteristic attitude toward himself will be that he is weak and helpless and inferior to everybody. He will rate himself by what others think of him. His self-effacing attitude will invite his being stepped on and being duped by others. The dependence upon others tends to make for vulnerability, which leads to a feeling of being neglected and humiliated. Repression of all assertive, vindictive and ambitious feelings leads to a false feeling of unity and wholeness of the personality.

This repression will lead to occasional temper tantrums and headaches or stomach ailments. This type feels that if only he can find somebody to love him, everything will be all right. Horney points out that the type's reasoning is perfect, but rests on false premises. By refusing to recognize aggressive trends or neurotic conflicts, he hopes to eliminate the harmful effects of his unresolved conflicts without doing anything about² resolving the conflicts themselves.

The Aggressive Type

The aggressive type assumes that everyone is hostile. Life is seen as a struggle, although fear is never displayed. His

1. Ibid., pp.49-53.

2. Ibid., pp.48-62.

primary need is to control others, by excelling, achieving success, and prestige, which create a subjective feeling of strength by external affirmation. There is a strong need to exploit others rather than to help them. The toughness of the type leads to an attitude which regards feelings as gratuitous sentimentality. Love is unimportant, as the primary role of the mate is to enhance the aggressive type's own position. He is a good fighter and develops a keen sense of realism.¹

He seems very uninhibited but actually has many inhibitions, which are not recognized as such in our civilization. These inhibitions are in the emotional area and deal with the capacity for enjoyment and affection. This type's values stem from the philosophy of the jungle. The philosopher Nietzsche presents an example of this, when he has his superman regard any sympathy as a sort of enemy from within. A feeling of sympathy would be incompatible with the whole structure of living of this type. Horney quotes approvingly Jung's suggestion that patients should accept the opposite sides of their personalities.²

The Detached Type

The detached type is mainly characterized by the desire to move away from people. Meaningful solitude is not neurotic, but solitude which is primarily a means of avoiding people is unhealthy. People who are so estranged from others have toward

1. Ibid., pp. 63-72.

2. Loc. cit.

themselves the same onlooker attitude which they have toward life. It is important to them that they keep emotional distance between themselves and others and not get emotionally involved with others. This may express itself in resourcefulness, or self sufficiency, or by restricting one's needs¹ so as never to become too attached to any person.

This need for privacy and independence, carried to its ultimate, become compulsive and indiscriminate, like all neurotic trends. Signing a contract or a lease becomes a threat to independence, as does marriage. Appearing a few minutes late on a job, to show how unimportant it is, and not giving Christmas or birthday presents, to show one's independence, are common. The need to feel superior is tied in with an abhorrence of the competitive struggle. Ibsen's Peer Gynt, says Horney, with his doctrine of "To thyself be enough" is a representative specimen of this type.

Techniques for creating emotional distance are employed, and give the impression that every situation is carefully tested from the viewpoint of a possible loss of freedom, before emotion is permitted. Horney points out that the more the emotions are blocked, the more likely will it be that intelligence will be emphasized. Joining groups, societies, and clubs is avoided. The possibilities of a "nervous breakdown" occurring are good, because this type does not want to resolve

1. Ibid., pp.73-82.

the conflicts, against which he has entrenched himself.

Horney emphasizes that these three types are pure types and can in a healthy personality actually complement each other and help create a harmonious whole. Neurosis is caused when any one of the three trends dominates the personality. These trends must be understood for comprehension of the nature of personality.

Criticism and Evaluation

This typology, with its emphasis on intercultural and interpersonal forces in creating personality, is descended from the psychology of Alfred Adler, with its emphasis on environmental factors in causing neurosis.¹ Adler also emphasized the universal nature and importance of schemes of orientation in creating personality and neurosis. Adler pointed out that some of these schemes are neurotic because they are fixed and infallible and hinder rather than help achieve the goals sought by the person.² One authority convincingly traces Horney back to Adler and calls Horney a neo-Adlerian.³

Horney's typology has little in common with Freud's system, although it is somewhat analogous to Fromm's. Horney does not reject the Freudian theory of psychosexual development, but

1. A. Adler, Understanding Human Nature. New York: Greenberg, Publisher, Incorporated, 1927, p.38.

2. Adler, op. cit., p. 19.

3. F. Wittels, "The Neo Adlerians", American Journal of Sociology, 45, (1939), pp. 433-445.

she does not fully accept the typology which depends upon it. People develop trends and styles of living, in her eyes, as the result of cultural pressure. This is in contrast to Freud's emphasis on the importance of the single infantile determining instance or traumatic situation, usually sexual, in the formation of the personality.

There appear to be a number of gaps in Horney's typology. Each of the three types discussed above, in its pure form, becomes a neurosis. Yet there is little or no discussion of why some people exposed to similar conditions will develop into one of these types while others will not. In an earlier paper, Horney admits her inability to distinguish between individual and cultural etiologies of personality types.¹

Although she states that all "individual character difficulties ... have been engendered ... ultimately through cultural conditions ...,"² she never explains how cultural trends become personality trends. Social structure as a powerful force in personality formation is not discussed, and no mention is made of class, age, occupation, and caste influences.

Although cultural conditions, never clearly defined, presumably mold personalities Horney says that "the conflicting trends constituting them are determined ultimately by disturbances in human relations..."³ and in the same book seems to relapse

1. K. Horney, "What Is A Neurosis," American Journal of Sociology, 45, (1935), p. 431.

2. Loc. cit.

3. K. Horney, New Ways in Psychoanalysis, p. 78.

to a Freudian viewpoint when she says that " the persons who succumb to a neurosis are those who have been more severely hit by the existing difficulties, particularly in their childhood."¹

Horney emphasizes that in the case of the pure type or neurotic, "the deviation does not primarily concern the manifest behavior but the quantity or quality of basic anxiety as well as that of the deviation developed for the sake of security."² If anxiety deviation is our criterion of neurotic or pure type, how can this be correlated with her principle of cultural origin of the pure type or neurotic? Culture, to Horney, is a sort of primary unit which is treated as a convenient residual and never clearly defined category in her descriptions of etiology.³ Culture is regarded as a constant from which individual experience develops its own trends. Although culture, in Horney's views, causes personality, yet personality traits are considered to be self contained dynamisms which do not need to be referred to, and are independent of, culture.⁴ The manner in which the culture causes each of these pure types to arise is not made clear.

⁵ W. Needles has pointed out that Horney's criteria of

1. Horney, op. cit., p. 128.

2. K. Horney, "What is a Neurosis," American Journal of Sociology, 45, (1939), p. 432.

3. A.W. Green, "Sociological Analysis of Horney and Fromm," American Journal of Sociology, 51, (1946), pp. 533-541.

4. Loc. cit.

5. "Review of 'Are You Considering Psychoanalysis'," Psychoanalytic Review, 16, (1947), pp. 241-243.

moving toward and moving against are weakened synonyms of love and aggression. In Needles' opinion, Horney overemphasizes values and ideals, or philosophy of life, as causation agents, of each type. He feels that although Horney has made a significant contribution, she has been mistaken in setting up her own system, as she has misconstrued a part for a whole.

P. Mullahy notes that Horney is to be praised for her abandonment of the libido theory and her emphasis on environment.¹ Mullahy points out that her discussion of types and the relation of each type to neurosis, though it attempts to be functional, is not clear enough. Horney does not explain whether the three typical attitudes exist prior to a conflict, or whether they are used after the conflict is resolved. Mullahy feels that "in any case, we think that Horney has not yet sufficiently clarified her fundamental concepts."²

This system arising out of Horney's clinical experience is meant to be an aid to clinicians, although it does not appear to be of clinical value. It cannot be regarded as making any very significant contributions to, or giving any fresh insights into, the study of personality. It is internally consistent but gives little predictive power. Although an abstract culture is posited as the cause of these types, the manner in which this culture works is not clarified. Horney's system cannot be regarded

1. P. Mullahy, Oedipus Myth and Complex, pp. 330-331.

as possessing great illuminative power. She seems to have paid little attention to the vast amount of material available on the growth and interacting development of personality in culture.

CHAPTER VII
THE TYPOLOGY OF ERICH FROMM

The typology of Erich Fromm is of considerable interest for a number of reasons. Fromm is one of the acknowledged leaders of the "left-wing" movement in psychoanalysis which has been revising Freud's views with cultural relativism as its criterion, emphasizing that Freud attempted to universalize certain concepts and patterns which were peculiar only to the Vienna of his time, and not to all peoples in all places. Fromm was born in Germany in 1900 and came to this country in the 1930's. He is currently chairman of the faculty at the William Alanson White Institute of Psychiatry, which is one of the country's largest psychiatric training centers, and also teaches at Yale and Bennington. There is thus considerable occasion for his views to receive attention. Also, his books enjoy great popularity among lay as well as professional circles.¹

Fromm briefly sketched his typology in Escape from Freedom, in which he discusses why he feels the Freudian conception of the anal type can not be used to explain cultural change.² However, the full exposition of his views appeared in Man for Himself,³ published in 1947. Fromm says that he, like Freud,

1. His earlier book, Escape from Freedom, originally published in America in 1941, is now in its eighth printing.

2. Escape from Freedom, p. 280.

3. E. Fromm, Man for Himself, pp. 62-112.

assumes that character traits underlie behavior and can be inferred from it. These character traits may be unconscious. The key to character is the total conscious organization which gives rise to individual traits. Fromm differs from Freud in that his criterion of personality is not the organization of libido, but the kinds of relatedness to the world. People relate themselves to the world by acquiring possessions and by relating themselves to others and to themselves. "Character is the (relatively permanent) form in which human energy is canalized in the process of assimilation and socialization."¹ The formation of character simplifies the process of living, as minor decisions of daily living become semi-automatic. Basically it is possible to distinguish two kinds of orientation: the productive and the non-productive. The non-productive orientations include the receptive, exploitative, hoarding and marketing types.

The Non-Productive Orientations

The receptive type likes to receive, to be loved, to be dependent, to ask advice, to seek oral gratification, to keep his lips open, to be optimistic and friendly and indiscriminate in choice of love objects. This orientation is found most often in societies where the right of one group to exploit another is well established. It is akin to masochism, and its pathological form is masochistic.

1. Ibid., p. 59.

The exploitative type wants to take things from others by stratagem or by stealing. He can be described as a biting personality and shows his hostility by biting and caustic remarks. This type seeks goodness external to himself by using others. He is a product of the piratical and feudal elements of our society. The type's pathology is related to sadism.

The hoarding type's main interest is in saving money. This is a sterile and spiritually negative orientation. Withdrawal behavior, a tight lipped mouth, angular gestures, and undue orderliness and compulsiveness are among the type's characteristics. Love is regarded as a complete possession of the loved person. In a neurosis or psychosis developed by this type, destructive trends come to the fore.

The marketing orientation has been dominant only in the modern era. Its chief characteristic is the concept of oneself as a saleable commodity and of one's value as exchange value. This orientation depends on being personally accepted by employers. People whose values stem from this orientation change their personalities to suit the fashions of the personality market, which is determined to some extent by motion pictures and popular books and magazines. The concentration is on putting oneself across, in competition with many others. People regard their own abilities and skills as commodities outside of themselves. If the aim of learning continues to be to market oneself, Fromm feels that education will suffer, since the students who are so busy acquiring a saleable personality will have no time left to think.

The four non-productive types above are to be distinguished from the productive orientation, which is emotionally healthy and desirable.

Fromm notes that all character traits are to be understood as syndromes resulting from a particular character orientation. He stresses that his concepts are all ideal types, which do not describe the personality of any given individual. He emphasizes that the manner in which a person experiences others is similar to the way in which he experiences himself.

He laments that "the knowledge of man himself, psychology, which in the great tradition of Western thought was held to be the condition for virtue, for right living, for happiness, has degenerated into an instrument to be used for better manipulation of others and oneself..."¹ He deplores the extent to which psychology has become market research, political propaganda, and² advertising.

The Productive Orientation

Fromm contrasts his own productive orientation with Freud's genital types, which he regards as abstract and vague. Fromm's productive type has to do with a kind of relatedness, the chief characteristic of which is spontaneity. The productive person has the ability to use his powers and to realize whatever potentialities are inherent in him. He need not be an artist in order to be spontaneous. His behavior is not characterized by

1. Ibid., p. 76.

2. Loc. cit.

anxiety and submission. The realism which is simply an awareness of the surface aspect of things is not to be regarded as productive. The entire process of living, says Fromm, is a process of discovering and exercising one's potentialities.

He points out that productiveness is an important concept in Aristotle's system of ethics, and corresponds to Spinoza's virtue. Goethe's Faust, after a lifelong search, finds that the only answer to his quest is found in productive activity. Ibsen's play Peer Gynt, says Fromm, has the same theme. Loving and working are the main methods of perceiving the world productively.¹

Fromm notes that real life situations always present us with blends of these various orientations and that there is probably no one person who is completely productive, just as there is probably no one person who is completely non-productive.²

Fromm and Psychoanalytic Typology

At a symposium conducted in 1947, the social psychologist Muzafer Sherif asked Fromm, "Where will we land if we keep on recasting the formulations of such a pioneer as Freud - recasting them into symbolic terminology? Especially if the pioneer himself was very strict about his own formulations and didn't like any recasting of them?"³ Fromm replied that "We often

1. Ibid., pp. 91-97.

2. Ibid., p. 113.

3. S.S. Sargent and M.W. Smith, editors, Culture and Personality, p.11.

understand an author better than the author understands himself."¹

In a paper delivered at the same symposium, Fromm explained² his ideas on psychoanalytic typology. He explains that Freud assumed that all character traits have a libidinal or passionate base. Thus, by a process of analogizing cultural phenomena and neurotic symptoms, capitalism is described as a result of anal eroticism. This viewpoint, says Fromm, is too naive. Although people do have traits such as those which are sometimes called anal, these traits must be interpreted as ways of relating to other people, which Fromm calls interpersonal relations. The theoretical concepts of the new science of interpersonal relations are adequate to explain cultural and psychological problems,³ but there has been too little application of them.

Generally speaking, Fromm's typology roughly parallels that of Freud. His receptive character is somewhat analogous to Freud's oral character, and his exploitative and hoarding orientations are reminiscent of the anal type. The marketing orientation has no counterpart in Freud's typology, while the productive character is somewhat analogous to Freud's genital character. However, Fromm rejects the libidinal bases of Freud's typology, which attempts to give a complete explanation of adult

1. Loc. cit.

2. E. Fromm, "Psychoanalytic Characterology and Its Application to the Understanding of Culture", in S.S. Sargent and M. W. Smith, op. cit., pp. 1-13.

3. Ibid., pp. 4-9.

character in terms of the individual's psychosexual development with heavy emphasis on infancy. Fromm admits the great importance of the family in the formation of personality, but holds that the major determinant of personality is the kind of interpersonal relations experienced by the person. Both Fromm and Freud believe that character and personality are formed by a person's experiences, especially those of early life, and that they can be changed by new insights or experiences or psychoanalysis.

Culture and Personality Types

It is necessary to consider Fromm's views on the relationship between culture and personality because he holds that culture causes each of the personality types to be formed. Fromm sees culture as an outgrowth of the personality's struggle to gain freedom from the shackles of various institutions. He sees the Protestant ethic as the cause of the undue modern concern with money and success. What he does thus is to posit that a homogeneous modern man possesses a putative (non-productive) orientation and then he gives a unilinear and speculative single main cause (the Protestant ethic) for this putative orientation. It may well be argued that in the United States the growth of the frontier was infinitely more important than the Protestant ethic in making people compete for success. Such features of cultural life as unemployment or contracting and

1. E. Fromm, Escape from Freedom.

expanding economies also are not considered in Fromm's analysis, and point up its inadequacies. Like Horney, Fromm conceives of culture as a unity, working as a universal stimulus in an oversimplified Stimulus-Response relationship. Modern cultures are very complex and cannot be regarded as homogeneous units. Individuals belong to class, caste, and occupational groups - none of which are discussed by Fromm.

Although one of the leading exponents of cultural etiologies of personality traits, Fromm says that scars obtained by the child in the intra-familial situation "are to be found at the bottom of every neurosis."¹ Fromm also presents contradictory statements about mental health, by saying that mental health, or the productive orientation, is synonymous with conformity,² but also that it depends on individual non-conformity with society.³ The productive type discussed above, has achieved "positive freedom" by "spontaneous activity of the total, integrated self..."⁴ But, as Green points out, no society could exist in which men oriented their behavior spontaneously, with reference

1. E. Fromm, "Individual and Social Origin of Neurosis", American Sociological Review, 9, (1944), p. 382.

2. E. Fromm, Escape from Freedom, p. 287.

3. Ibid., p. 138.

4. Ibid., p. 263.

only to each other's unique personality.¹ It is difficult to see how a life plan could be built around acting spontaneously and thus productively. For example, business colleagues, students, or employers would probably regard a completely spontaneous person as being disturbed.

The easy assumption of total-cultural influence on personality is never confirmed by any evidence nor clarified nor made specific in Fromm's discussion of typology. There is no systematized account of how culture forms personality types, and personality is never clearly analyzed but remains generalized and implicit. Biological and organic forces are not discussed except negatively, to minimize their emphasis by Freud. Differences in experience are said to account for differences in types of personality, but this is not brought to the level of specifics.

Criticism and Evaluation

R. M. Loewenstein has questioned Fromm's emphasis on moral character as the basis of personality.² He notes that "although to some extent his (Fromm's) characterology follows psychoanalytic psychology, he takes out of it its real dynamic significance; character is not formed but is a kind of deus ex machina; moreover, he sugar-coats his concepts with naive judgments, which lower the scientific level he strives to attain."³

1. A.W. Green, "Sociological Analysis of Horney and Fromm," American Sociological Review, 51, (1946), pp. 553-541.

2. "Review of 'Man for Himself'," Psychoanalytic Quarterly, 17, (1948), pp. 334-335.

3. Loc. cit.

Loewenstein expresses uneasiness at the "unpleasant consequences" Fromm's point of view will have on the neurotics with whom he deals, inasmuch as Fromm regards some types as not only being sufferers, but also as being bad. "In this respect, Fromm's attitude toward psychopathology is a very regrettable regression to prepsychiatric concepts."¹

Fromm's pupil, P. Mullahy, calls Fromm "a contemporary classic" and speaks of his "profundity."² He criticizes Fromm's use of broad cultural categories as personality determinants and says their operation in creating personality types is not clear. He also criticizes the inability to tell in Fromm's work where personality type is cause and where it is effect. Mullahy has emphasized that in Fromm's eyes, the "fundamental basis of character lies in the specific kind of relatedness of a person to the world."³ This is similar to and probably derives from Adler's discussion of orientations in life and life goals.⁴ Wittels has attempted to trace Fromm's work on personality to Adler and calls Fromm a neo-Adlerian.⁵

Fromm's typology is thus generally analogous to Freud's, but only in broadest outlines. The data for the system came from Fromm's clinical experience in psychoanalysis. His typology has

1. Loc. cit.

2. Oedipus Myth and Complex, pp. 331-332.

3. Ibid., p. 259.

4. A. Adler, Understanding Human Nature, pp. 19-50.

5. F. Wittels, "The Neo Adlerians", American Journal of Sociology, 45, (1939), pp. 433-445.

attracted few disciples and there has been little attempt to work with it. The purpose of the system was to assist clinicians and help foster a revival of spontaneity in contemporary conduct. It is internally consistent but its pragmatic value is unconfirmed and questionable. It has some predictive power but is not easy to see how this might be used. Fromm's system has not received wide endorsements of specialists, and it seems not to take account of even the elements of what is known about developmental psychology. No adequate explanation of how these personality types are formed is given. Its illuminative power is not very great.

CHAPTER VIII

THE EIDETIC IMAGERY TYPOLOGY

Elementary textbooks on psychology usually mention the phenomenon of eidetic imagery, but comparatively few mention the typology which was created on the basis of eideticism and which filled thousands of pages of the Zeitschrift fuer Psychologie and the Zeitschrift fuer Angewandte Psychologie from approximately 1920 to 1940.

The first discussion of eidetic imagery appeared in 1907,¹ in Urbantschitsch's book on the subject. He reported that some subjects, after having been shown objects, could recreate them down to the last detail, even after the objects had been removed. These images he called eidetic (Anschauungsbilder).

This lead was followed by a graduate student of philosophy named Erich R. Jaensch, who was born in 1883, and began working in the field of eidetic research in 1909. After 1917, Jaensch and his brother Walter did most of their work at the Marburg Institute of Psychology, where Erich Jaensch held the chair of philosophy. A steady stream of papers came from Marburg, developing an eidetic typology, as Jaensch and his co-workers and pupils continued their researches.

1. V. Urbantschitsch, Ueber Subjektive Optische Anschauungsbilder. Leipzig: F. Deuticke, 1907. P. vi + 211.

The work of experimentation with eidetics was continued all over Europe by other experimenters, although violently contradictory results were obtained in different cities and countries.

Eidetic images are to be distinguished from memory images and after images.¹ The eidetic image often causes tension in the eyes. It may persist for years or may disappear and then recur years later. After images conform to Emmert's Law, that the size of the image varies proportionately with the distance of the projection ground from the eye. Eidetic images, however, do not conform to this law. In an ontogenetic continuum, Jaensch assumes progressive levels of memory. The after image would thus come first, and would be followed by eidetic images, and then memory images. As the individual grows older, he depends increasingly on higher grades of memory. The eidetic image seems to serve the same function as does repetition of a stimulus, by permitting concrete aspects of the world to penetrate the mind thoroughly.

Jaensch and his colleagues were very active and conducted a great deal of experimentation. They found that, in general, the characteristics of eidetic images were their pseudo-perceptual nature, their high degree of detail, the accuracy of reproduction of detail, and their usually requiring fixation of gaze for arousal. They found that there seemed to be geographical differences in eideticism, probably based on the amount of

1. G. W. Allport, "Eidetic Imagery," British Journal of Psychology, General Section, 15, (1924), pp. 99-121.

calcium which was available in the community.¹

Eidetic Types

Working at the University of Cambridge, the American psychologist, Gordon W. Allport, surveyed a group of English students and found very little evidence of eidetic types. He dismissed Jaensch's evidence from primitive tribes as more anecdotal than scientific.²

Jaensch's brother, W. Jaensch, in a book published in 1926, posited the existence of two distinct psychophysical reaction systems, or types, which can be studied through eidetic imagery.³ The first, or B-type, in its extreme form shows the characteristics of Basedow's Syndrome. This type is very good at recalling eidetic images. Members of this type see whatever they think about. They can change the form, as well as the color, of eidetic images if they wish to do so. Their eidetic images are spontaneous as well as rich, plastic, and long-lasting.

Basedow's Syndrome includes cardiac symptoms, finger tremors, and exaggerated skin reflexes. The B-type responds easily to psychic stimuli, and is dominated by cortical rather

1. H. Kluever, "Studies on the Eidetic Type and on Eidetic Imagery," Psychological Bulletin, 25, (1928), pp. 69-104.

2. Allport, op. cit.

3. W. Jaensch, Grundzuege Einer Physiologie und Klinik der Psychophysischen Persoenlichkeit. Berlin: Springer, 1926. P. x + 483.

than subcortical action. The eidetic images produced by the B-type cannot be weakened by the addition of calcium to the diet. This type perspires heavily, has soft skin, and is gracefully built.

The second, or T-type, in its extreme form has tetanoid characteristics. Its eidetic images are more like after images. People of this type cannot see eidetic images at will, nor can they change the form or color of eidetic images. Spontaneous eidetic images are regarded as unpleasant, and eidetic images are often not distinct. After images and memory images often last longer than eidetic images.

The tetanoid type is characterized by an increase in the mechanical and galvanic irritability of the peripheral nerves. The eidetic images of this type can be reduced by calcium treatments. The T-type depends mostly on the subcortex and can be called predominantly subcortiform. People of this type respond easily to physiological stimuli and are prone to develop neuropathy and epilepsy.

These two types differ so distinctively in their characteristics that somatic differences parallel the perceptual differences. Endocrine, ionic, vegetative, and central and peripheral nervous factors combine to distinguish these two psychophysical vegetative systems. Every organism has both T and B features, but one of the two usually dominates.¹

1. Loc. cit.

There was considerable heated debate over the very existence of these two types. In general, Jaensch and his co-workers kept confirming the results of their typological investigations, and researchers in other places often found no evidence for the existence of the types posited by Jaensch. In all these cases, the only subjects tested were those who lived near physiological laboratories. These researches utilized data from cases which were few but which were usually pure types. Few generalizations can be made about the differing results of these early studies except that many serious objections were raised and not answered about the existence as well as the universality of the eidetic types.

A good review of the contradictory early experiments on eidetic types is to be found in an article by Kluever,¹ who made the first study of eidetics in this country.² Working in California, he had a district which appeared to have at least the same percentage of eidetics as Marburg. He used a wide variety of tests, and, working intensively with twenty seven eidetics, decided that it was not possible for him to accept the Jaensch theory of types. He thought that it was impossible to cast light on matters of so general a nature as the biotypes hypothesized by Jaensch. Kluever deplored the facile translation

1. H. Kluever, "Studies on the Eidetic Type and on Eidetic Imagery," Psychological Bulletin, 25, (1928), pp. 69-104.

2. H. Kluever, "Eidetic Imagery," Genetic Psychology Monographs, 1, (1926), pp. 71-230.

of the results of investigations in the perceptual field to the logical and other fields. This lead was not followed in America and very few eidetic experiments were performed in this country, although they continued to flourish in Germany.

In 1927, E. R. Jaensch attacked his Gestalt critic, Kurt Koffka, who had demonstrated the influence of the experimental setting on eidetic images and who had called the Jaensch methods¹ inexact and applicable only to a limited number of subjects. Jaensch said that Koffka didn't understand eidetic types and that Koffka's Gestalt psychology was atomistic and neglected genetic factors.

Liefmann, in 1928, attempted a thorough survey of the² proofs for the eidetic typology. She found no connection between goiter and the eidetic B-type. She also got negative results in trying to change the character of images by using thyroid therapy for the B-type, or calcium therapy for the T-type. The condition of the capillaries was found to be irrelevant to the type. Experiments in alkalization of blood and breathing tetany had negative results, as did taking mescal. In sum, she found no confirmation of any of Jaensch's type theories.

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1. E. R. Jaensch, "Ueber Eiditik und die Typologische Forschungsmethode," Zeitschrift fuer Psychologie, 102, (1927), pp. 35-36.
 2. E. Liefmann, "Die Eiditische Anlage und Ihre Bedeutung fuer die Konstitutionstypologie," Zeitschrift fuer die Gesamte Neurologie und Psychiatrie, 116, (1928), pp. 537-558.

Jaensch, in attempting to account for the high incidence of eideticism in children, said in 1930 that the T and B types may be regarded as aspects of the two more inclusive basic types of integrate and disintegrate. He used Stern's conception of personality as a unitas complex, and addressed himself to the problem of determining how the many facets of the personality were organized into a coherent whole. These many functions of personality may occur with mutual cooperation, in which case the integrate type results. If these functions occur separately, however, and are isolated from one another, the disintegrate type results.¹

In 1930, Jaensch prepared a special English edition of his book Eidetic Imagery, to make his results available to English speaking scholars.² He said that eidetics represent the first systematic application of typological psychology. He emphasized that perception is connected with the higher mental functions and with the body. When the capillaries at the finger-nails of B-type people are microscopically examined, they are found to have irregular shapes, instead of being the normal hairpin shape. Capillary microscopy can thus give us new insights into these types. The B and T types are to be regarded as special cases of the integrate and disintegrate types. The

1. E. R. Jaensch, "Gruendsaetzliches zur Typenforschung und Empirisch Vorgehenden Philosophischen Anthropologie," Zeitschrift fuer Psychologie, 116, (1930), pp. 107-116.

2. Eidetic Imagery, Translated by O. A. Oeser. London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner, and Company, Limited, 1930. P. 136.

synaesthetic (S) type, which sees colors in listening to music, is a subform of the integrate type. In one's inner world of ideas, an inner and a priori factor - one's type - enters into all perception. The synaesthetic philosophy of Descartes has been overemphasized in scientific research, according to Jaensch.

Jaensch and Nazism

As early as 1932, Jaensch was already adapting his early researches to conform to Nazi teachings. In a 1932 paper, which is presumably a discussion of eidetics and typology, he comments that the contemporary conflict in Germany is the result of a conflict between the degenerate synaesthetic type and the¹ disintegrate type.

In a book published in 1934, on eidetic imagery and the psychic life of children, Jaensch wrote of the important connection between eidetic types and the cultural and educational problems of the German Folk Movement.² He discussed the necessity for German national education.

One of Jaensch's co-workers followed the master's lead and studied the numbers of monthly suicides from the point of view of the eidetic types.³ In 1934, he stated that the disinte-

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1. E. R. Jaensch, "Auseinandersetzen in Sachen der Eiditik und Typenlehre," Zeitschrift fuer Psychologie, 126, (1932), pp. 51-85.
 2. E. R. Jaensch, Eiditik Anlage und Kindliches Seelenleben. Leipzig: J. A. Barth, 1934. P. xviii + 503.
 3. K. Metelmann, "Die Monatlichen Selbstmord-Sterbeziffern unter den Gesichtspunkten der Jaenschischen Typologie," Zeitschrift fuer Angewandte Psychologie und Charakterkunde, 47, (1934), pp. 376-386.

grate type was identified by its blue eyes, blond hair, and fair skin, while the integrate type was dark skinned, with dark hair and brown eyes.

In appraising Jaensch's work up to 1934, Kluever praises him for his pre-1932 attempts to create a significant typology, and suggests that typological research is almost always suggestive even if it is not positive.¹

Two of Jaensch's colleagues, in 1934, made investigations² of structural similarities in adults and their children. These investigators showed that racial types are transmitted by heredity.

A Dutch scholar, writing in 1936 on eidetic imagery in phylogeny, regarded Jaensch's typological analysis, as applied³ to races, to be unproved and suspect.

K. Rau conducted an investigation in racial psychology⁴ by the eidetic typological method. He got results similar to Jaensch's, finding that eidetic types correlated with race differences, and with physical and psychological characteristics.

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1. H. Kluever, "The Eidetic Type, in Proceedings of the Association for Research in Nervous and Mental Disease, 14, (1934), pp. 150-168.
 2. G. H. Fischer and R. Hentze, "Strukturvergleichende Untersuchungen an Eltern und Kindern," Zeitschrift fuer Psychologie, 133, (1934), pp. 233-246.
 3. F. M. Havermans, "Eidetische Verschijnselen in Onze Phylogenie," Mensch en Maatschappij, 12, (1936), pp. 191-199.
 4. "Untersuchungen der Rassenpsychologie nach Typologischen Methode," Zeitschrift fuer Angewandte Psychologie und Charakterkunde, (1936, Beihefte 7, pp. 1-71.

The Nordic or disintegrate racial type was found to be superior to the Mediterranean or integrate type.

Jaensch and a collaborator, working on the problem of human types and animal breeds in 1936 conducted psychophysical and psychological investigations on various breeds of chickens.¹ They found that the chickens could be divided into a Nordic and a Mediterranean type. This chicken typology, according to the investigators, confirmed the similar typology of human races.

In another study on the psychology and physiology of work in the reorganization of economic life, Jaensch shows how typology buttresses the new German culture of living being in contrast to the vanishing culture of dead things.² Another monograph on intelligence testing from a racial and typological point of view attacked the Jewish intelligence testing of the past.³

E. R. Jaensch was elected president of the German Association of Psychology simultaneously with Hitler's first election.

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1. E. R. Jaensch and H. Ermisch, "Menschentypus und Tierrasse. II. Teil. Psychophysische und Psychologische Untersuchungen an Verschiedenen Huehnerrassen," Zeitschrift fuer Psychologie, 137, (1936), pp. 209-244.
 2. E. R. Jaensch, "Die Psychologie und Psychophysiologie der Arbeit bei der Neugestaltung der Wirtschaftlebens," Zeitschrift fuer Psychologie, 141, (1937), pp. 129-132.
 3. E. R. Jaensch, "Grundsätze fuer Auslese, Intelligenzpruefung und ihre Praktische Verwirklichung," Zeitschrift fuer Angewandte Psychologie und Charakterkunde, 55, (1938), pp. 1-14.

Jaensch remained president of the Association until his death in 1940. In general, it is difficult not to believe that the radical and grotesque changes in the eidetic typology of Jaensch after Hitler's accession to power were not motivated by political opportunism. He was very anxious to prove the consistency of his earlier work with Nazi ideas. He produced a post-1932 system which is actually a contradiction of his earlier T and B typology, but presented it in such a manner as to give the impression that he was merely restating his past conclusions.¹

The most elaborate statement of Jaensch's Nazified typology is found in his book on the anti-type.² The anti-type was described as a polluting biological type which is akin to the synaesthetic type. Jaensch did not bother to test representative groups but announced this conclusion and gave no evidence for it. The synaesthetic type included all Jews. Jews are regarded as pure anti-types who are biologically unstable. This instability causes them to be politically liberal. The anti-type lacks a stable time sense and is erratic. This type mocks, caricatures, and ridicules; it is unstable, polytheistic and antisocial. Members of the anti-type, like Jews, have

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1. S. Diamond, "The Coordination of Erich Jaensch," Science and Society, 1, (1936), pp. 106-114.
 2. E. R. Jaensch, Der Gegentypus: psychologische-anthropologische Grundlagen Deutscher Kulturphilosophie, ausgehend von dem was wir ueberwinden wollen. Leipzig: J.A. Barth, 1938. P. xliii + 512.; A similar work is E.R. Jaensch and R. Hentze, Grundgesetze der Jugendentwicklung; erkenntniss der jugend-anthropologie in der ausrichtung auf neu-deutsche erziehung. Leipzig: J.A. Barth, 1939. P. vii + 217.

deliberately devised standard intelligence tests so that they could excel Nordics, and through this technique Jewish synaesthetics get academic awards. (This remark was probably directed at the distinguished Hamburg psychologist William Stern.)¹

Vocational and industrial tests are also constructed by the anti-type. Members of this type carry and are prone to tuberculosis and schizophrenia. The anti-type has polluted the destiny of the German people for 300 years. The anti-type must be exterminated, says Jaensch, adding that the anti-type has, by intermarriage, caused biological inferiority of the Germans. The inferiority of the anti-type has caused it to possess a sharpened intelligence. As a result, German scholarship has been talmudized and the universities have sponsored anti-type thinking. No therapy is effective for the anti-type: it must be removed from German public life.

The whole argument is presented with no reports of experimentation nor any explanation of how this anti-type was discovered. One writer feels that by his complete acceptance of Nazism, Jaensch has forfeited any claim to scientific attention even for his earlier work of the 1920's. There are, however, signs, even in Jaensch's early work, of his later bizarre analogies and far fetched inferences.²

1. D. P. Boder, "Nazi Science," in P.L. Harriman, G.L. Freeman, G.W. Hartmann, K. Lewin, A.H. Maslow, C.E. Skinner, editors, Twentieth Century Psychology. New York: Philosophical Library, 1946. P. xiii + 712. pp. 10-22.

2. Loc. cit.

Comments on Eidetic Typology

Murphy and Jensen, writing at the peak of Jaensch's early popularity, feel that "the evidence that imagery is linked with many other personal traits is considerable, and by no means easily to be dismissed."¹ Writing fifteen years later, Murphy is more cautious: "There is some evidence that rich and plastic imagery appears in people inclined to hyperthyroidism, the images being expressive of mood and attitude, whereas in those inclined to parathyroid defect the imagery is brittle and unresponsive to prevailing moods."²

Burnham, writing of the pre-1932 Marburg studies, calls them interesting and suggestive, but "liable to raise fantastic hopes."³ He points out that the wide significance claimed for Jaensch's typology is not proved. K. Young expresses the opinion that "the vagaries of the attempted socio-cultural applications of this theory have tended to discredit it among serious workers."⁴

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1. G. Murphy and F. Jensen, Approaches to Personality; Some Contemporary Conceptions Used in Psychology and Psychiatry, p.34.
 2. G. Murphy, Personality; A Biosocial Approach to Origins and Structure, p. 393.
 3. W. H. Burnham, The Wholesome Personality, A Contribution to Mental Hygiene. New York and London: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1932. P. xxvi + 713. p. 160.
 4. Personality and Problems of Adjustment, p. 313.

Summary

For purposes of scientific appraisal, the post-Hitler writings of Jaensch and his school may be dismissed as vicious political hack work of the most calculating sort. Eidetic typology, before 1932, had considerable pretensions and seemed on the verge of illuminating some important areas of personality by attempting objective measurements of general phases of personality, but these were never confirmed by other and independent investigators. Jaensch emphasized the incidence and the possible importance of eidetic imagery in childhood and he inspired considerable research in memory and perception. The eidetic typology is one of the few which took cognizance of the developmental factors in growth. Its potential importance for education and other fields was great, but was never verified. It claimed predictive power, but this also was never confirmed. The typology paid little attention to environmental factors in growth. It did open up a new area for research. There is a good deal of evidence which tends to disprove the eidetic typology, even though eidetic imagery itself, without typological trappings, has remained a legitimate subject for psychological study.

The grandiose claims made for the universality of the T and B types were never confirmed. The data used by Jaensch prior to 1932 were experimental and the design of most of the experiments was quite sound. The system was internally consistent. The eidetic typology seems to have little in common with other systems. As originally promulgated, Jaensch's typology seemed to have considerable illuminative power, but this has not been validated.

CHAPTER IX

THE ENDOCRINE TYPOLOGIES

The endocrine glands manufacture and release to the blood various specific chemicals, or hormones, which the blood carries throughout the body and which may have effects in parts of the body remote from their point of origin. There are at least twelve glands producing some forty hormones. This would average about three hormones per gland. However, several glands only produce one hormone while other glands produce seven or eight. Thus, the thyroid produces only one hormone, while the pituitary produces at least eight.¹

Among the most widely known glands and their hormones are: the intestinal mucosa which produces secretin and cholecystikinen, the islands of Langerhans of the pancreas which produce insulin, the thyroid which produces thyroid hormone, and the parathyroid with its parathormone. Also important is the adrenal medulla with its adrenaline; the adrenal cortex which produces corticosterone; the testis with its testosterone and androsterone; and the ovary which produces estradiol, estriol, and estrone. Other important endocrines and their secretions are: corpus luteum, which produces progesterone; and the pituitary which produces prolectin, growth hormone, thyreotropic and corticotropic hormones,

1. R. J. Williams, The Human Frontier. New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1946. P. viii + 314. p. 113.

pancreatropic hormone, fat metabolism, gonadotropic hormones,¹
and parathryretropic hormone.

Research on the function and role of the endocrine glands has been proceeding ever since Theophile de Bordeu, a French physician, in 1776 first presented the idea of secretions being absorbed into the blood.² The nineteenth century saw Berthold, Bernard, Addison, Brown-Sequard, Cowling, Kocher and others make significant discoveries about the function of these glands. In the twentieth century, a few endocrinologists in Italy and America began to regard the glands as the most important determinants of personality and began to construct typologies based on endocrine function. Probably the most outspoken proponent of an endocrine typology has been the American physician, Louis Berman (1893-1946).

In a book on endocrine types published in 1927, Berman summarized the findings of a group of researchers working under his direction at Columbia University.³ He presented the idea that the life of every individual, at every stage, is dominated by his glands of internal secretion. One or several of these glands control the personality. All human traits are expressions of glandular prominences. Knowing the glandular makeup of a person, it is possible to predict his future and contrariwise, it is possible to deduce the secretion type from his biography.

1. Loc. cit.

2. L. Berman, The Glands Regulating Personality. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927. P. 300. pp. 29-110.

3. L. Berman, op. cit.

In a pure type, one gland rules the organism by virtue of its being especially weak or strong. In mixed types, two or three glands conflict for predominance. Berman dismisses the psycho-analytic types as only a series of metaphors which ignores the physiology of mental processes and disregards the endocrine relations within the vegetative apparatus.¹

Berman's Endocrine Types

The pituitary centered type has several subgroups. The pituitary contains an anterior and a posterior lobe. The pituitary is encased in a small bony box (sella turcica) at the base of the skull. The size and relative hardness of this box may influence the ability of the pituitary to grow. If the bone is unusually soft, rapid pituitary growth will be followed by high blood pressure and headaches, with unusually high initiative, irritability, and sexuality. The masculine pituitary type, ruled by the anterior pituitary, has good brain tone and action. The feminine pituitary type, ruled by an excess of the posterior pituitary, is unusually susceptible to sentimentalism and the tender emotions.

The masculine pituitary type is an ideal virile type and learns easily. When the posterior dominates the anterior pituitary, in men, this produces a type which is characterized by early development of a paunch and by cyclic moods. When the

1. Ibid., pp. 122-188.

pituitary is dominant in children, they are aggressive, ferocious, calculating and self contained. Children in whom the pituitary is inferior are mentally sluggish and dull, lose self control quickly, cry easily, and get discouraged promptly. It is possible to recognize this type by certain physical characteristics. The average pituitary type has soft, moist, hairless skin and a doll-like face with large eyes, as well as long crowded teeth and a high pitched voice. The bone joints are prominent, the chin is square, and the feet and hands are large.¹

In describing this type, as in describing all his other types, Berman quotes no specific empirical or laboratory researches or comparative studies, but presents these types as actual entities the existence of which is regarded as established.

The thyroid centered personality has several subdivisions. The subthyroid type is recognized by its peasant face, broad nose, tough skin, coarse hair, and slow reaction time and poor memory. Obesity, sallowness, scanty eyebrows, deep set eyeballs, irregular teeth, cold extremities, and poor circulation are also characteristic. This type fatigues easily.

The hyperthyroid type has pop eyes, excellent teeth, and a straight nose, and needs little sleep. This type is usually thin, with clean cut features, thick hair and eyebrows. People of this type are characterized by noticeable emotivity,

1. Ibid., pp. 210-214.

restlessness, impulsiveness, rapidity and clarity of perception.

All children are thymocentered up to the age of five or six, when the other hormones become potent. With the arrival of the gonadal secretions, the influence of the thymus is eliminated. The "angel child" of literature is thymocentered, with graceful body, rounded limbs, and smooth and opaque white skin. Muscular strain in people of this type is dangerous because they have small hearts and fragile blood vessels. The persistence of thymus dominance after adolescence makes for a partial castration or slowing of the normal processes of masculinization or feminization. The thymocentric is prone to¹ homosexuality and masochism.

The gonado-centered type has several subdivisions. The eunuchoid lacks hair and gives the effect of premature senility. The voice is high pitched, and the eunuchoid is often tall and slender with soft and flabby musculature. Berman suggests a correlation between the eunuchoid and homosexuality. He notes that whole families may show eunuchoid traits, as well as national groups. Siamese, Malays, and Chinese, for example, have no beards. The eunuchoid usually has a retiring and shut-in personality. The eunuchoid type is the result of an insufficiency of gonadal secretions. This, like the other types, is a pure type. Berman emphasizes that most people consist of² dominant mixtures or hyphenates.

1. Ibid., pp. 215-217.

2. Ibid., pp. 224-230.

Berman discusses several historical figures as examples of his typology. Fairly complete data are available, for example, on Napoleon. According to Leonard Guthrie's report to the International Congress of Medicine in London in 1913, Napoleon was 5'6" tall, with plump hands, dark complexion, long straight hair, and a slow pulse. His violent sexuality, bladder trouble, and epileptic tendencies are well known. Berman says that his antepituitary was originally dominant, with an inferior post-pituitary. When his ante-pituitary malfunctioned, Napoleon got fat and his judgement became defective.

The philosopher Nietzsche is described as a post-pituitary dominant, with a superior thyroid and inferior adrenals. His migraine headaches have been described by many biographers. He had prominent eyebrows and his supra-orbital arches, or the bony protuberances from which the eyebrows spring, were prominent.

Charles Darwin is seen as a pituitary centered type. His anterior pituitary and thyroid glands were overproductive while his adrenals were deficient. He was abnormally subject to fatigue and suffered from ill health all his life. He was an insomniac and neurasthenic and lived on an almost sanitarium schedule. He had a ruddy complexion, large eyes, and a tall, thin, and strong body.

Oscar Wilde was a thymocentric. He was tall, fat, and unbearded. He had a high pitched tenor voice and large breasts, and was a homosexual.

Berman describes the unfolding of personality in terms of endocrine epochs. In infancy, when most babies look and act alike, the thymus is in control. In childhood, the pineal rules until in adolescence the gonads begin functioning. Maturity sees one or a group of glands in control of the personality. In senility, there is a general endocrine deficiency. Berman regards these glandular differences as hereditarily transmitted.¹

In several other books, The Personal Equation and New Creations in Human Behavior, Berman has expanded this same line of thinking. In The Personal Equation, he quotes a case in which a patient was given pituitary and adrenal extracts. Her dreams immediately became lively and colored. Berman points out that a psychoanalyst would have traced the change back to supposed childhood memories.² He regards the Jaensch experiments in eidetic imagery to be proof of endocrine types, because of the evident importance of the thyroid in eidetic types. The children with eidetic imagery were not getting enough lime in their water and food. When given lime, the eideticism disappeared. The parathyroids control the amount of lime in the blood, and Berman feels that this is evidence that eidetic imagery was present in children whose thyroids were too active while their parathyroids were not active enough.³⁴

1. Ibid., pp. 230-287.

2. L. Berman, "The Personal Equation", New York and London: The Century Company, 1925. P. xviii + 303.

3. Ibid., p. 252.

4. Ibid., pp. 61-71.

Berman suggests that criminals are the result of an enlarged thymus. He believes that glandular deficiency and glandular excesses have been present from the dawn of time. He cites the case of the Woman with Horn, a sculptured series in the caves of Dordogne which is at least 20,000 years old, and which shows pituitary deficiency. Joan of Arc was a case of hyperthyroidism and ovarian deficiency, as she had high cheek bones and is known never to have menstruated, according to Quicherat's official report in 1841. Her acceptance of soldiering and the masculine life is well known.¹

Other Endocrine Typologies

The noted biologist, Sir Arthur Keith, seems to have subscribed to Berman's hypotheses. He described whole races as being gland centered and described evolution as the result of hormones. Keith regarded the European race as being predominantly pituitary, the Negro as being adrenal centered, and the Mongolian as being thyroid centered.²

There have been few American students who have accepted Berman's conclusions. Fry and Haggard³ have been swayed by them, as well as Mayers and Welton.⁴ Mayers and Welton are even

1. Ibid., pp. 71-299.

2. "The Evolution of Human Races in the Light of the Hormone Theory," Johns Hopkins Hospital Bulletin, 33, (1922), pp. 155-159, 195-202.

3. C.C. Fry and H.W. Haggard, The Anatomy of Personality. New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1936. P. xi + 357.

4. L.H. Mayers and A. D. Welton, What We Are and Why. New York: Sears Publishing Company, 1933. P. xiii + 340.

more positive and enthusiastic than Berman, and say that all variations depend on the glands. Their book is popular and presents little sound evidence.

Andre Tridon, a New York psychoanalyst, attempted to relate psychoanalysis and the endocrines.¹ Tridon suggests that there are three kinds of gland temperaments which he calls: hypertemperament, hypotemperament, and dystemperament. The hypertemperament may include genius (pituitary dominant) as well as drivers and bosses, (adrenal centered), and energetic people (thyroid dominant). The backbone of the United States is the mass of hypotemperamental people or plodders. The dystemperament people are the victims of their internal secretions, like Napoleon. Tridon suggests a new branch of medicine with a new degree of Doctor of Matrimony, to diagnose the endocrinological status of potential mates and their relative suitability for each other. He also says that the dentist should give way to the endocrinologist,² as some people have endocrines which insure absence of tooth decay.

The endocrinologist, R.G. Hoskins, also attempted to clarify the relationship between psychoanalysis and the endocrines.³ He says that emotional behavior is conditioned by the

1. A. Tridon, Psychoanalysis and Gland Personalities. New York: Brentano, 1923. P. ix + 253.

2. Ibid., pp. 140-189.

3. "An Endocrine Approach to Psychodynamics," Psychoanalytic Quarterly, 1, (1936), pp. 87-107.

endocrines and compares Freud's erotic and death instincts to anabolism and catabolism. Hoskins calls for a cross fertilization between the two fields. His suggestion has never been implemented.

At about the same time that Berman was getting considerable attention in America, the Italian Nicole Pende was creating much discussion in Europe through his presentation of similar doctrines. In 1921, Pende suggested the idea that personality depended on the hyperfunctioning or hypofunctioning of the glands. Hyperfunctioning and hypofunctioning combined to constitute the average type. He believed that the hormonal equilibrium of the body originated and maintained the nutritive, metabolic, morphologic, nervous and psychic equilibrium of the individual.¹ It is interesting to note that as long ago as 1859, the great French physiologist Claude Bernard pointed out that the vital mechanisms of the body strove to keep the internal environment constant, and that the organism might take an active part in compensating for deficiencies.² W. B. Cannon's analogous concept of homeostasis or internal equilibrium is well known to physiologists and psychologists.

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1. N. Pende, "Endocrinologia e Psicologia. Il Sistema Endocrino-Simpatico nell' Analisi Moderna Della Personalita Umana." Quaderna di Psichiatria, 8, (1921), pp. 121-136.
 2. Leçons sur les Proprieties Physiologiques et les Alterations Pathologiques des Liquides de l'Organisme. Paris: Bailliere, 1859. P. 492.

In 1927, Pende expanded his ideas in a book.¹ This book discusses a hundred representative cases studied by his method. A few years later, he said that he believed there are only two types. The first, corresponding to a biotype which is hyperemotional, unstable, aggressive, and little resistant, is characterized by an exaggerated functional tonus of the sympathetic nervous system and the endocrine glands. The second type is characterized by hyperfunctioning of the parasympathetic system and the endocrine glands, and is hypoemotional and hyporeactive, with an analytic mentality.² Naccarati, a follower of Pende, in 1921 announced his conclusions that emotions were completely dependent on hormonal action.³

The writings of Berman, Keith, Pende, and the other exponents of an endocrine typology received wide popular acclaim and caught the public fancy. Leonard Williams, a British psychologist, wrote in 1922 that "if a man's conduct is determined by his endocrines, so also is his character."⁴ Another

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1. Biotipologia Umana ed Ortogenesi. Genna: Editrice Sociale, 1927. P. 227.
 2. "Les Temperaments Endocrino-Sympathiques et les Biotypes Psychiques," Pour L'Ere Nouvelle, 8, (1929), pp. 258-259; see also N. Pende, La Scienza Moderna Della Persona Umana, Biologia-Psicologia Tipologia Normale et Patologica, Applicazione, Mediche, Pedagogiche e Sociologiche. Milano: Garzanti, 1947. P. 432, especially pp. 323-381, for a discussion of these types.
 3. S. Naccarati, "Hormones and Emotions," Medical Record, 99, (1921), pp. 910-915.
 4. "The Constituents of the Unconscious," British Journal of Psychology, Medical Section, (1922), as quoted by L. Berman, The Glands Regulating Personality, p. 49.

British psychologist, Constance Bloor, has also waxed enthusiastic¹ over endocrine types. She postulates four basic types. The ante-pituitary type is characterized by its clear thinking, the post-pituitary type is prone to feeling, the thyroid centered type tends to be intuitive, and the adrenal centered type is characterized by its domination by sensation.

Operation of the Endocrines

It should be mentioned that most hormone experiments are conducted on laboratory animals. This procedure suggests several cautions in interpreting experimental results. There is the possibility that the active hormone has been destroyed in making the extract, that extraneous materials have entered the extract, and that the extract contains more than one effective hormone. Endocrines may act as a result of the autonomic nervous system's impulses, or as a result of another hormone brought by the blood from another gland. They don't work automatically and may be affected by light, nutrition, bodily produced anti-hormones, or other glands which may be subject to nervous control or to control by yet other glands. Glandular action is very complicated. There is still considerable ignorance of just how each gland² works.

Not only may glands influence personality, but the reverse may be true. Thus, a hyperthyroid state often follows tense, excitable emotional conditions, while a chronic depression may

1. Temperament: A Survey of Psychological Theories. London: Methuen and Company, 1928. P. 202.

2. R.J. Williams, The Human Frontier, p. 106.

lower the level of thyroid activity.¹ Each person's glands act distinctively, with different size, shape and activities. For example, the human thyroid may weigh from eight to fifty grams. There may be one or two component glands, and there may or may not be a connective isthmus.²

Flanders Dunbar, the specialist in psychosomatic disease, notes that the endocrines must be understood as part of the vegetative system, including ion-concentration, and in close relationship with blood circulation.³ She raises the possibility that a normal person can always keep a constant internal environment, while only abnormal personalities can be dominated by one gland and become types.

It is known that environmental factors may effect glands. For example, psychotherapy and changes in diet or in exercise habits may change the thyroid's functioning.⁴ Probably the most extensive investigation of the effect of environment on the functioning of the glands was made by Franzblau in 1935.⁵ She studied Danish girls in Denmark, and Danish-American girls in

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1. R. Stagner, Psychology of Personality, p. 334.
 2. Williams, op. cit., p. 115.
 3. H. F. Dunbar, Emotions and Bodily Change, A Survey of Literature on Psychosomatic Interrelationships, 1910-1933. New York: Columbia University Press, 1938. P. xliii + 601., pp.166-167.
 4. W.A. Lessa, An Appraisal of Constitutional Typologies, p. 40.
 5. R.N. Franzblau, "Race Differences in Mental and Physical Traits Studied in Different Environments," Archives of Psychology (1935) Number 177. P. ix + 44.

America, as well as Italian girls in Italy and Italian-American girls in America. The socio-economic levels of all four groups were equated, as was their intelligence (on non-language intelligence tests) and climate and diet, insofar as these were feasible. She found, for example, that the average menarche age of the Danish girls was fourteen, while the menarche came six months earlier with girls of Danish stock in America. Thus, the six months difference is attributable only to the change in environment.

The field of endocrine types has produced considerable work of uneven quality. Unfortunately, endocrinologists have seldom been interested in the psychological aspects of their subjects. Conversely, few competent psychologists have been drawn to the endocrine field.

Animal Experiments

Some significant work has been done on animals. Stockard's work with dogs showed that they belong to endocrine types and that these types are hereditary.¹ Crile, regarding his results as applicable to humans, believed that variations in the size of the brain, the heart, the thyroid gland and the adrenal sympathetic system are the only causes of the variation in the intelligence, power and personality of wild domestic animals.²

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1. C. R. Stockard, The Physical Basis of Personality. New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1931. P.xviii + 320.pp.224-225.
 2. G. Crile, "A Neuro-Endocrine Formula for Civilized Man," Educational Research, 22, Supplement 14, (1941), pp. 57-76.

Richter, working with rats with serious endocrine deficiencies, showed that they could make dietary selections which compensate for their endocrine deficiencies.¹ Internal water balance, body temperature, electrolytes, fats, carbohydrates, and proteins, are kept constant by the rats' own selection of food. Richter feels that humans also adjust in the same way to endocrine dysfunction.

Probably the most carefully controlled and elaborate experiment on animal endocrine type was conducted over a twenty four year period by Riddle, working at Cold Spring Harbor, New York, for the Carnegie Institution.² Riddle selected his doves and pigeons so that the degree of mongrelization in each of his species would be comparable to that in the human population of an American city. He assumed that many features of his birds could be analogized to man. Riddle carefully controlled environmental and dietary factors so that such conditions were equated for all birds. His purpose was to learn if certain individual differences could be established as type or racial characteristics, and if they could so be established, to learn if hormonal differences are associated with such type differences.³

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1. C.P. Richter, "Behavior and Endocrine Regulators of the Internal Environment," Endocrinology, 28, (1928), pp. 193-195, 224-225.
 2. O. Riddle, Endocrines and Constitution in Doves and Pigeons. Washington: Carnegie Institute of Washington, 1947. P. xi + 306.
 3. Ibid., pp. 1 - iii.

It became evident, in the course of the experimentation, that in his 200 pairs of ring doves, generalized physiological and structural inequalities existed. He found forty such types. It was especially clear that extreme expressions of the several traits had a genetic basis. The differences were great: for example, one dove strain required twenty times as much prolactin to elicit a response as did another. Riddle examined and described the glandular characteristics of each dove, as these could be determined by observation, physiological tests, and autopsies. His conclusion is that the endocrines are responsible for the differences which his studies showed. "Whether the segregated groups should be called 'races,' 'breeds,' 'stocks,' or 'types,' is immaterial. . . The strong presumptive evidence that similar aggregates are (theoretically) obtainable within homo sapiens is not contradicted by any valid evidence of which the writer is aware."¹ He feels that his investigation provides direct experimental support for the view that endocrine glands do much to shape variations in anatomy. "Earlier studies in many laboratories have shown that essentially similar laws of inheritance and quite comparable types of endocrine action exist in bird and man. It is therefore wholly probable that the endocrine glands bear a similar relation to structures and functions in man and pigeon."²

1. Ibid., p. 306.

2. Loc. cit.

Riddle feels that his results have significant implications¹ for the social sciences and for education. His results are particularly impressive because of the quarter-century he devoted to getting them and because of the mass of documentation, photographs, charts, and elaborate statistical material which he presents in his book.

Another carefully controlled experiment was conducted² on rats. Certain rats under controlled conditions involving fear tended to defecate and urinate. Under the same conditions, others remained calm and self controlled. The two types were kept separate and by inbreeding it was found that the tendencies were inherited and that emotionality and fearlessness constituted two separate strains. Autopsies showed that the emotional type had markedly larger adrenal, thyroid, and pituitary glands than the fearless type. This experiment is valuable because it attempts to study endocrine influence on a definite psychological trait rather than on a mixture of traits.

Hormones and Personality

Many researches have attempted to link personality with hormones, with varying success. Several of these studies have dealt with abnormal personalities, in the belief that it should be easiest to detect the endocrine-personality relationship in

1. Loc. cit.

2. R.J. Williams, The Human Frontier, p. 122.

such cases. The most elaborate of these is Freeman's autopsy study in 1935, of the glands of 1,400 psychotic patients at St. Elizabeth's Hospital in Washington.¹ He weighed the endocrine glands of the patients and concluded that there was relatively little relationship between comparative gland weights and his four personality types of cycloid, paranoid, schizoid, and epileptoid. His cycloid type was described as extraverted, industrious, and highly sexed with mood fluctuations. The paranoid type was reserved, suspicious, antagonistic, and embittered. The schizoid was introverted, retiring, self deprecatory, and meticulous. The epileptoid personality was moody, pedantic, and subject to paroxysmal headaches. Freeman's most suggestive finding was that large male testes were associated with schizoids, hirsutism, and homosexuality.

This study seems to have had an inadequate experimental design. The four personality types Freeman presents are not usually accepted as standard classifications. The types are not mutually exclusive, and several characteristics from each classification should be possessed by one person. Thus, a person could be highly sexed, suspicious, retiring, and moody, and have one characteristic from each of the four types. The component traits of each type do not seem to have been formulated objectively. There is also some question about the advisability

1. W. Freeman, "Personality and the Endocrines, A Study Based Upon 1,400 Quantitative Necropsies," Archives of Internal Medicine, 9, (1935), pp. 444-450.

of using the gross weight of a gland as an index of its importance. It is possible that a careful examination of the various types of cells, for example in the pituitary, would have yielded¹ better results.

In a similar experiment on a much smaller scale, Cushing examined seventy pituitary glands from psychotic patients in post-mortem investigations. He did not find a single normal gland, but he did find excessive amounts of connective tissue and an abnormal collection of all types. He could find no relation between the type of pituitary abnormality and the type² of psychosis. Hutton and Steinberg examined 314 psychotic patients for endocrine dysfunctions and got suggestive results.³ Their results, however, do not prove any causal relationship. Another study dealt with 200 males, of whom 100 were schizophrenic and 100 were manic depressive.⁴ This study showed that schizophrenics had hypogonadism, and that manic depression and pituitary deficiency were related.

Disturbed children were studied at the Cincinnati Child

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1. Williams, op. cit., p. 121.
 2. R.G. Hoskins, Endocrinology; the Glands and Their Functions. New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1941. P. 388, p. 186.
 3. J. H. Hutton and D. L. Steinberg, "Endocrinopathies and Psychoses," Journal of Mental Science, 82, (1936), pp.773-784.
 4. J. L. Clegg, "Some Observations on Endocrines in the Emotional Psychoses," Journal of Mental Science, 83, (1937), pp.52-60.

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Guidance Home. It was found that in the 1,000 consecutive cases which were studied, endocrine malfunction was responsible for the disorder in 9.3% of the cases, with a pituitary involvement in almost half of the cases. Glandular therapy was administered to seventy one children, of whom 33% showed good results, 50% showed fair results, and 17% showed poor results. Working with 4,000 young mental patients, Rowe found no significant combination of gland and disorder.² Hoskins and Sheper found that exactly one half of a group of schizophrenic patients showed an endocrine dysfunction, while the other half had none.³

⁴ K. Conrad, ⁵ J.D. Gallego, and ⁶ B.I. Kahn have experimented with small groups of people and found some relationship between endocrine and personality type.⁷ C.V. Ferreira, working with a small group, found no evidence of endocrine types. Molitch,

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1. L.A. Lurie, "Endocrinology and Behavior Disorder of Children," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 5, (1935), pp. 141-153.
 2. A.W. Rowe, "A Possible Endocrine Factor in the Behavior of the Young," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 1, (1931), pp. 451-475.
 3. R.G. Hoskins and F.H. Sheper, "Endocrine Studies in Dementia Praecox," Endocrinology, 13, (1929), pp. 245-262.
 4. Der Konstitution Typus als Genetisches Problem; Versuch einer Genetischen Konstitutionlehre. Berlin: Springer, 1941. P. 211.
 5. "Los Tipos de Estructura Psico-Fisica en el Hombre y la Orientacion Professional," Psicotecnia, 3, (1942), pp. 441-449.
 6. "Some Endocrine Aspects of Personality," Naval Medical Bulletin, 40, (1942), pp. 330-339.
 7. "Correlaciones entre los Aspectos Psicologico, Fisiologico," Endocrinologico y Anatomico de la Sexualidad Infantil," Revista de Psiquiatria del Uruguay, 6, (1943), pp. 15-23.

working with 1,076 boys in an institution, found no evidence of¹ glandular impact in the creation of personality types. R. Lemke, has stated, however, that the only cause of the homosexual type² is a pituitary lesion.

The recent emphasis on psychosomatic medicine has led to several experiments which tend to show that not only are there no endocrine personality types, but that there is reason to believe that the personality actually influences endocrine functioning. Levy showed that psychogenic factors caused basic changes in the patterns of glandular functioning.³ Mittelman showed that in a group of cases of extreme hyperthyroidism (Graves' Disease), apprehension preceded and caused the hyperthyroidism.⁴ It would appear that patterns of adjustment involving the nervous system have a powerful effect on endocrine functions. Psychotherapy has been shown to change endocrine function radically.⁵

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1. M. Molitch, "Endocrine Disturbances in Behavior Problems," American Journal of Psychiatry, 93, (1937), pp. 1175-1180.
 2. Ueber Ursache und Staatrechtliche Beurteilung der Homosexualitaet. Jena: Fischer Verlag, 1940. P. 45.
 3. J. Levy, "A Quantitative Study of Relationships Between Basal Metabolic Rate and Children's Behavior Problems," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 1, (1931), pp. 298-310.
 4. B. Mittelman, "Psychogenic Factors and Psychotherapy in Hyperthyreosis and Rapid Heart Imbalance," Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease, 77, (1933), pp. 465-488.
 5. G. Murphy, Personality, A Biosocial Approach to Origins and Structure, p. 97.

Representative of the conservative position on the subject¹ of endocrine - personality types is an article by Ingle. He feels that the major function of the endocrines is to maintain homeostasis and that they only bring about differences in personality in abnormal situations. He believes it likely that changes in learning ability from birth to maturity depend on certain hormones, although there is no necessary relation between intelligence and the endocrines. Even sex behavior is only partly dependent on sex glands. The relation between emotion and endocrines is obscure.

Comments on Endocrine Types

G. Murphy comments that as soon as the endocrine typology is critically examined, "the beautiful symmetry of the expected relation begins to fail."² Miller writes of Berman that "like the dove of Noah, he believes himself to have discovered a new continent, but has in reality met only an archipelago of scattered ideas."³ Hoskins warns that we should not be too hasty in re-writing psychology, sociology, and criminology as special branches of endocrinology without a lot more evidence than is presently available.⁴ Josefson comments that it is probably impossible⁵ to prove an endocrine typology. G. Dumas says flatly that

1. D.J. Ingle, "Endocrine Function and Personality," Psychological Review, 42, (1935), pp. 466-479.

2. Murphy, op. cit., p. 97.

3. E. Miller, Types of Mind and Body. New York: W.W.Norton and Company, 1927. P. 95. p.38.

4. R.G.Hoskins, Endocrinology; the Glands and Their Functions, p.348.

5. A.Josefson, "Endokrine Druesen und die Persoenlichkeit," Ergebnisse der Gesamten Medizin, 6, (1925), p. 387.

Berman's work is unreliable.¹ Gordon, also commenting on Berman, says that his typology consists of a priori probabilities rather than of empirically proved facts.² Freeman points out that many glandular - personality connections may be too glibly assumed.³ For example, if a young man's glands malfunction and his vocal cords fail to thicken at puberty, his voice will be high pitched. With such a voice, he may be sensitive and avoid male company to avoid humiliating comments. This preference for female company may be spuriously attributed to the glandular malfunctioning instead of to social conditioning.

Although most investigators feel there is little basis for an endocrine typology, two of the most distinguished students of typology say, after a very thorough review of typological literature, that "the hope of the future in this field lies in endocrinology, as the Italian school has pointed out ... As simpler and more accurate methods for studying endocrine physiology are evolved, it may be possible to elaborate a classification ... at once ... comprehensive ... easily correlatable with both morphology and psychology."⁴

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1. Traite de Psychologie. Paris: F. Alcan, 1923. 2 volumes. P. 964 and P. 1173., volume 2, p. 113.
 2. R. S. Gordon, Personality. New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1926. P. xiv + 302. pp. 65-66.
 3. E. Freeman, Principles of Social Psychology. New York: Henry Holt, 1939. p. 79.
 4. W. B. Tucker and W. A. Lessa, "Man: A Constitutional Investigation," Quarterly Review of Biology, 15, (1940), pp. 265-287 and pp. 411-455.

There is at the present time no support for Berman's or Naccarati's endocrine typology. Even the idea that the endocrines control personality has been subject to serious criticism and has been revised so that a contemporary statement of this relationship would mention that the endocrines probably have considerable influence on the vegetative nervous system, although the nervous system also influences the endocrines. The factors involved in endocrine experiments are very complex for a number of reasons. Both endocrine dysfunction and behavioral manifestations occur often and may be associated by chance. It is difficult to diagnose or to decide what constitutes endocrine dysfunctions. The evaluation of improvement after endocrine therapy is likely to be invalidated by suggestion.¹

Another difficulty in this study is that the body's recuperative powers seem especially good in the case of gland defects. The nervous system interrelates with the endocrines in many different ways about which not too much is known. Diagnosis is also difficult because a disorder may be immediately the result of underactivity of one gland, but actually the cause may be the overactivity of another gland, causing an inhibition of secretion from the first. Clinical symptoms as bases for endocrine types are thus

1. W. B. Lessa, An Appraisal of Constitutional Typologies, p. 40.

suspect. Even if glandular action produced a certain syndrome, we could not assume that the equation is reversable and that all persons showing such a syndrome had the same glandular malfunction.

Among the difficulties in constructing a valid endocrine typology is that the means of release of hormones are not perfectly understood.¹ Individuals possess varying susceptibilities to hormonal action and individual differences may lead the same hormonal cause to give rise to completely different patterns of behavior.

No studies have been conducted linking endocrine types with Pavlovian reflexological types, although the nervous system's interrelations with the endocrines have been studied. Jaensch originally based his eidetic imagery typology on the degree of secretion of the thyroid glands, but no linkage between the two typologies has been effected.

Summary

The endocrine system did provide a new perspective and new guiding concepts although it was never a completely workable system. Its data were either vague, contradictory, or nonexistent. Its original purpose, to categorize human beings adequately, has never been achieved. It possesses internal consistency although it has little predictive power or pragmatic value. It does take account of individual growth and development but ignores the

1. R. J. Williams, The Personal Equation, p. 122.

environment. Most students of the subject are very skeptical about it but some investigators think that it may yet prove to be the cornerstone of a workable typology. It cannot be said to have clarified any hitherto unseen relationships.

The inadequacies of the endocrine typology should not, however, lead to the discarding of the solid body of material available on the functioning of the endocrines. There is a vast amount of reliable and thorough data on the endocrines, but the very existence of so much data has made endocrinologists wary of making generalizations of the kind required for creating a typology.

CHAPTER X
PAVLOV'S REFLEXOLOGICAL TYPOLOGY¹

The career of Pavlov has become almost legendary. In 1849, Ivan Petrovitch Pavlov, the son of a poor priest, was born in Central Russia. He was a brilliant student at the University of St. Petersburg. In 1891, he opened the first surgical department of a physiological laboratory in St. Petersburg's Institute of Experimental Medicine. In 1904, he received the Nobel Prize for his work on the digestive glands, on which he had worked for some years, after ten years spent studying the circulatory system. From 1902, he devoted most of his attention to his famous experiments on the study of the central nervous system, by the method of conditioned reflexes on dogs. Pavlov's seven day work week and devotion to his work are almost apocryphal.²

At the age of eighty, after his work on conditioned reflexes had made him the dean of living physiologists, he began studying psychiatry. At the age of eighty three he was studying

1. Periodical titles which have been transliterated from the Russian are in accordance with the usage of A.W. Pollard and W.A. Smith, A World List of Scientific Periodicals. London: H. Milford, 1934. P.xiv + 779. All other Russian titles have been transliterated in accordance with current usage.

2. W.H. Gantt, "Ivan P. Pavlov: A Biographical Sketch," in I.P. Pavlov, Lectures on Conditioned Reflexes. Translated by W.H. Gantt. New York: International Publishers, 1928. P. 414. pp. 9-31.

texts in psychiatry in four languages. He continued his work on dogs and he kept working right through his eighty-sixth¹ year at his laboratory daily up to six days before his death.

Pavlov's first communication of his work on types of temperament was a paper read before the Paris Psychological Society in December, 1925, on the occasion of his election to honorary membership. The paper dealt with "The Inhibitory Type² of Nervous Systems in Dogs." He comments that his work on the higher nervous system of dogs has shown him considerable and striking differences in the individual qualities of their nervous system. Several definite types of nervous system, says Pavlov, have become evident. A timid and cowardly dog, for example, usually moves cautiously with tail tucked in and legs half bent. A sudden movement or loud noise will cause the animal to draw back.

Such a dog learned six positive conditioned reflexes perfectly, to such varied stimuli as a bell, a metronome, a whistle, an increase in illumination, a paper square, and a toy house. In September, 1924, the great Leningrad flood swept over the laboratories in which the dogs were kept. This dog abruptly lost all his conditioned reflexes and relearned them only after considerable individual attention from Pavlov. Even a trickle of water, however, threw him into a pathological state and caused the conditioned reflexes to vanish permanently, or to be inhib-

1. I. P. Pavlov, Conditioned Reflexes and Psychiatry. Translated W.H. Gantt. New York: International Publishers, 1941. P. 199. pp. 11-55.

2. Reprinted in I.P. Pavlov, Lectures on Conditioned Reflexes, pp. 363-369.

ited. The dog could not sleep and refused to eat. Pavlov notes¹ that he had several such dogs.

In this type of dog, inhibition rather than excitation is predominant. The cerebral cells are sensitive and quickly expend their excitatory substances under the influence of stimuli, which leads to the commencement of inhibition. After damage of certain parts of the cerebral hemispheres, it is no longer possible to obtain positive conditioned reflexes from the sense organs connected with these parts. If there is a positive response, it is short lived and quickly passes over into inhibition. This syndrome is typical of nervous exhaustion. Pavlov says it is a reasonable conclusion that this type of dog's cortical cells have only a small reserve of the excitatory substances,² or that these substances are very destructible.

The Leningrad flood only produced inhibition in the type of dog under discussion, while it had no effect on the other dogs. Pavlov compares the effect of the flood on the dog to a human traumatic neurosis. The passive defensive reflex and the inhibitory process in dogs would appear to be similar. The weak dog discussed above had a nervous system in which inhibition predominated. The pervasive presence of this passive defensive reflex in dogs is a regular feature of such dogs' general behavior. At the height of the development of a neurosis, with conditioned stimuli having little effect, and later when only very

1. Ibid., p. 363.

2. Ibid., p. 366.

strong stimuli will elicit a response, this passive defensive reaction constantly occurs.

On these grounds, Pavlov assumes that the basis of normal fear or timidity, and especially of the pathological fears or phobias, must be a predominance of the physiological process of inhibition, which in turn is an expression of the weakness¹ of the cortical cells.

He comments that as he analyzed the nervous systems of various dogs, he observed that they fitted the classical description of temperament, especially of the sanguine and melancholic temperaments. He describes the sanguine type as constantly seeking new stimuli and falling asleep after monotonous stimuli. The weak dog described above is a melancholic type, in whom the environment always seems to produce the same passive-defensive reflex. Between these two extremes is the equilibrated type, in which both the process of excitation² and the process of inhibition are of equal and adequate strength.

In December, 1927, Pavlov read a paper on "A Physiological Study of the Types of Nervous Systems," to the Pirogov Surgical Society.³ He commenced by commenting that the general characteristics of living substance are its response to stimulation or its adaptability. In higher animals, the specific reactions are

1. Ibid., p. 368.

2. Ibid., p. 379.

3. Ibid., pp. 370-378.

called reflexes. It is helpful to distinguish between the constant reflex to a definite stimulus, and the temporary reflex which is a response to diverse stimuli. Constant reflexes are connected with the entire central nervous system, while conditioned reflexes, or transient relations, are formed in the cerebral hemispheres. Thus, avoiding fire is a usual, inborn reflex, but a red light may reinforce the dog's idea about not entering the fire. We can connect and disconnect an electric light bulb all day, much as we spasmodically connect and disconnect parts of the nervous system.

If we take a tone of 1000 vibrations and always give food with it, and then take another tone which differs from the original by an interval of ten or fifteen vibrations, the second one will become inhibitory. This can be checked by sounding the 1000 vibration tone after giving a tone which produces no response, and it will be found that the 1000 tone sound will also lose its effectiveness. The new tone will have created inhibition in the central nervous system, and some time is required for the inhibition to disappear. Temporary agents can produce both inhibition and excitation. What this means is that in any circumstances, a particular activity may be manifested,¹ but in another situation it may be inhibited.

Life depends on a proper balance between these two processes. They are coexistent and are of equal importance in nervous activity. Dogs exhibit great differences in the speed with which they form these reflexes, in the stability of these reflexes, and in the degree of absoluteness they reach. In some dogs, it

is not difficult to create positive reflexes which remain stable under varied conditions, but in these dogs it is difficult to produce inhibitory reflexes. In some animals, it is impossible to obtain these inhibitory reflexes in pure and exact form, as they will always contain an element of positive activity.

At the other extreme, positive conditioned reflexes may be formed with very great difficulty, are unstable, and are inhibited by any change in the environment. In these dogs, inhibitory reflexes are rapidly formed and remain stable. Thus, some animals seem to be specialized in excitation but failures in inhibition, while others are specialized in inhibition but weak in excitation. Between these extremes is a central group which can inhibit well and also form positive conditioned reflexes easily. In this group, both positive and negative reflexes remain constant. These three groups - excitatory, inhibitory, and central - include all dogs. These distinctions characterize three kinds of character and different activities of the cerebral cortex.

"But we have an even more convincing proof of the existence of these three types of nervous system. . . If there is a difficult meeting of excitatory and inhibitory responses, there will be a complete change in the relation of these three kinds of central nervous system."¹

1. Ibid., p. 374.

For example, if the experimenter irritates a dog's skin every second and gives food simultaneously, a conditioned reflex will be formed. If he then irritates the dog's skin every half second, the reflex will be inhibited. A technique for distinguishing the three types is to irritate the dog fifteen times per half minute, instead of thirty irritations per half minute. When the thirty per half minute stimulus is applied, there will appear a positive food reaction, but with the fifteen per half minute stimulus, the reaction will be inhibited. The first (thirty) stimulus is always accompanied by food, while the second (fifteen) is not. These two stimuli, differing so slightly, will produce two opposite processes in the nervous system. If they follow each other, significant results ensue. If we begin with the stimulus of fifteen, there is no food reaction. If we exchange the fifteen frequency for thirty, we can distinguish the types. An excitatory dog will become ill, and will retain only excitatory processes, with the disappearance of inhibitory processes. This is neurasthenia. In an inhibitory dog, the inhibitory processes will prevail and the excitatory processes will be weakened. This is¹ hysteria.

In both cases, the normal relation between excitation and inhibition has disappeared and has led to a neurosis. In the inhibitory type, cure can be effected only by not using the dog for experimentation for five or six months. Bromides may

1. Ibid., pp. 374-375.

cure the excitatory type. Dogs of these types, exposed to similar conditions, may get different diseases, while normal dogs exposed to such conditions remain healthy. These two extreme types may be said to use only half their functions. The excitatory type is aggressive, while the inhibitory type is cowardly. The central type has two forms: the quiet and self contained dogs,¹ and lively and active dogs.

Now, can we apply this to man? And indeed, why not? These types of nervous system are, when existing in people, what we call temperaments. Temperament is the most general peculiarity of every person, the most basic essentiality of his nervous system, and the type of nervous system colors all the activity of the individual.²

Hippocrates found that there were four types. The excitatory corresponds to his choleric type, the inhibitory corresponds to his melancholic type, and the two forms of the central type correspond to his phlegmatic and sanguine. The excitatory choleric type's pathology appears to be neurasthenia, while the inhibitory melancholic's pathology is hysteria. The cyclic psychoses and schizophrenia are only extensions of the same disease. Schizophrenia may be due to a weakness of the cortex.³

Pavlov's paper on "Types of the High Nervous Activity," read in 1935 at the International Neurological Congress in

1. Ibid., p. 376.

2. Loc.cit.

3. Ibid., pp. 377-378.

London, is a restatement of the conclusions of the two papers¹ above.

Pavlov's final discussion of types is to be found in a² monograph which he published in 1935. This monograph on the physiology and pathology of the higher nervous systems, contains a discussion of the inhibited and excitable types, in both dogs and people. He says that the nervous systems of both are comparable to a considerable extent. The inhibited type cannot condition itself adequately to meet the demands of its environment, and this failure to adjust leads to social and economic difficulties. A person with a strong nervous system will not permit the conditioning of inhibitions to cause dissociation. However, in the case of individuals with weak nervous systems, dissociation frequently may cause the individual to isolate himself and to live in a fantastic world. Pavlov warns that the converse of this is not necessarily true, and that all shut-in personalities do not have weak nervous systems.

Experiments and Comments on Reflexological Types

Pavlov's student, J. S. Rosenthal, working at the Physiological Laboratory of the Leningrad Institute for Experimental³ Medicine, confirmed this typology. He describes the weak or

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1. I.P. Pavlov, Conditioned Reflexes and Psychiatry, pp. 162-165.
 2. I.P. Pavlov, Fiziologii i Patologii Visle Nernvoy Deyatelnosti, Leningrad: Academy of Sciences, 1935. P. 48.
 3. "Typology in the Light of the Theory of Conditioned Reflexes," Character and Personality, 1, (September, 1932), pp. 56-69.

melancholic inhibitable type as slow in adapting to surroundings. The formation of positive conditioned reflexes is slow. The type's feeble reflexes diminished cortical capacity, and its confusion in the face of changes in environment are characteristic.

He groups the other three categories - choleric, sanguine, phlegmatic - under the strong type, which is distinguished by the formation of positive conditioned reflexes, by good cortical organization and by good adaptability. The choleric is similar to Pavlov's excitation type. Rosenthal notes that the distinction between the sanguine and phlegmatic type is that in the sanguine, the reaction of orientation is emphasized by agility and liveliness. The phlegmatic type is quieter and pays less attention to changes in its surroundings. The sanguine type becomes sleepy in dull surroundings, while the phlegmatic type remains awake. The sanguine type seems mainly to be interested in the external world, while the phlegmatic type is more interested in its own inner world.¹

Rosenthal warns that the results obtained from animal experiments cannot immediately be applied to man, inasmuch as the higher nervous activity of man is extremely complicated.

K. Young, however, comments that even though Pavlov's theory may seem far-fetched, it is very suggestive. There may be inherent constitutional differences in the fundamental reaction

1. Ibid., pp. 67-68.

systems, and it is generally believed that the general principles of conditioning are relevant for human beings. He remarks that experience with melancholic men seems to show that they have a certain physiological weakness and some weakness in adapting to the environment, while choleric, sanguine, and phlegmatic people seem to get along more easily in the world. He calls for more investigation to prove or disprove the theory.¹

Pavlov seems to imply that constitutional differences depend upon inheritance. He believes that the inhibited type has a weak cortical organization, and that the subcortical and thus less educable areas dominate their adaptation. Rosenthal, however, believes that education influences temperament, and that the nerve type can be changed. There were dogs in Rosenthal's laboratories which were at one time members of the strong type, but which had been weakened by a difficult life and which were feeble and easily inhibitable. Later, the true functional type of these animals became evident after their higher nervous activity had been studied. This, to Rosenthal, illustrates the influence of education. Everyone can report cases of children being intimidated and changing their behavior.

W.T. James designed two experiments to show functionally how refinement of neural structure has helped the various animal species adjust to the environment. He worked with guinea pigs

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1. K. Young, Personality and Problems of Adjustment, pp. 303-305.
 2. "A Conditioned Response of Two Escape Reflex Systems of the Guinea Pig and the Significance of the Study for Comparative Work," Pedagogical Seminary and Journal of Genetic Psychology, 44, (June, 1934), pp. 449-453.

at the Cornell University Anatomy Farm and found significant differences in structural and functional relation in the cortex. "This difference in appearance of conditioned adjustment between these animals is probably due to a difference in development and refinement of neural structure."¹ He feels that education can do little to change the animals' nervous system and that heredity is all important.

James has conducted two researches which emphasize the effect of differences in dog types.² He found that aggressive dogs are not disturbed by the presence of other dogs, and that inhibited dogs were considerably disturbed by the presence of others, while the intermediate type was little effected. This experiment was conducted under excellent laboratory conditions.

James' second experiment was conducted under kennel conditions,³ with trained observers watching the dogs. He found that the dogs could be divided into aggressive and inhibited types, while the members of the third or intermediate type formed a dominant - inhibited order among themselves. James found that size did not determine type, but that "there seems to be some inherent nervous factor or group of factors which determines social position."⁴

1. Ibid., p. 452.

2. "The Effect of the Presence of A Second Individual on the Conditioned Salivary Response in Dogs of Different Constitutional Types," Journal of Genetic Psychology, 49, (1936), pp. 437-449.

3. W.T. James, "Further Experiments in Social Behavior Among Dogs," Journal of Genetic Psychology, 54, (1939), pp. 157-164.

4. Ibid., p. 163.

All experiments made with the inhibited animals indicated that they were an inferior type, as shown by mating and food taking habits. Constitutional differences seemed to be of great importance. "The specific conditioned reactions and social behaviors are manifestations of definite neuro-physiological systems peculiar to each type."¹ James suggested that genetic and constitutional factors are very important in considering the origin of types.

James reported his results at the 1938 meeting of the American Psychological Association in a short paper, in which he stated substantially the same conclusions and repeated the importance of the excitation-inhibition typology.²

N.I. Krasnorgorski, a colleague of Pavlov's,³ spent some time developing conditioned responses in children. He used a metronome the speed of which was regularly changed by small amounts. Food was used as a stimulus. He produced experimental neuroses, excitatory types, and inhibitory types, similar to the types found in dogs. In a normal child, the activity of the cerebral hemispheres depends on a balance between the inhibiting and excitation processes. "In life, . . . conflicts

1. Ibid., p. 163.

2. W.T. James, "Conditioned Differences Between Contrasted Physical Types Among Dogs," Psychological Bulletin, 35, (1938), pp. 704-705.

3. N.I. Krasnorgorski, "Bedingte und Unbedingte Reflexe in Kindesalter und Ihre Bedeutung fuer die Klinik," Ergebnisse der Inneren Medizin Kinderheilkunde, 39, (1931), pp. 613-730; and "The Conditioned Reflexes and Children's Neuroses," American Journal of Diseases of Children, 30, (1925), pp. 756-768.

always take place, but in the normal nervous system a disturbance of balance is quickly restored. . . it acquires a more serious character when the child's nervous system itself shows some pathologic inborn tendency."¹ Thus, Krasnogorski has been able to confirm Pavlov's findings on humans.

Thomas and Thomas comment that they do not know whether the explanations of behavior offered by the conditioned reflex researchers are adequate.² "But, disregarding for a moment, the questions of cortical imbalance, relation of excitation to inhibition, and all other internal matters, we have in these experiments an exemplification of the most suitable practical method for the study of behavior. . . one that would lead to control."³

The psychologist McDougall believed that the basis of personality was the speed with which nervous impulses travel in the central nervous system.⁴ In an extroverted person, this rate is slow and his nervous excitation finds ready expression in overt channels, while in an introverted person, high speed of the nervous system is characteristic. This recalls Pavlov's basic division into strong and weak neurones.

1. Ibid., p. 764.

2. W.I. Thomas, D.S. Thomas, The Child in America. NewYork: Alfred A. Knopf, 1928. xiv + 582.

3. Ibid., p. 515.

4. W. McDougall, The Energies of Man. London: Methuen and Company, 1945. P. 395.

Murphy suggests that Pavlov's belief that "inheritance of more or less superior or inferior adjustment capacities as mediated through the central nervous system,"¹ seems to have considerable confirming evidence. Histological data show that the development of the cerebral cortex follows strict patterns. Data from gross and microscopic anatomy have shown that the nerve cells of mental defectives are fewer and less adequate than those of normals. Animal pedigree data suggest this to be true, as do² direct pedigree and correlational studies of humans.

Murphy also sees evidence for a conditioned reflex typology³ in experiments with children and infra-human primates. Campbell and Hilgard found that when an adult reflex is produced by a mechanical agency, and the stimulus is of no importance to the subject, a normal distribution curve is obtained.⁴ If, however, the response is one over which there is cortical control, bimodal or multimodal distributions appear.

Razran, working with humans, found that he got a typology⁵ similar to Pavlov's. His unconditioned stimulus was mint candy

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1. G. Murphy, Personality: A Biosocial Approach to Origins and Structure, p. 80.
 2. Ibid., pp. 80-82.
 3. Ibid., p. 200.
 4. A.A. Campbell and E.R. Hilgard, "Individual Differences in Ease of Conditioning," Journal of Experimental Psychology, 19, (1936), pp. 561-576.
 5. G.H.S. Razran, "Conditioned Responses, An Experimental Study and a Theoretical Analysis," Archives of Psychology, (1935), Number 121. P. 124.

on the tongue, and his conditioned stimulus was a nonsense syllable. After the pairing of mint and syllable, all the subjects would be expected to salivate. However, he found that he got three groups of responses. One group conditioned promptly, one group failed to condition, and in the third group, conditioning was reversed, with a reduction in salivation. Razran concludes that these are three types of attitudinal control.

A. Yarmolenko made a study of the motor characteristics¹ of reflexological types in children. He obtained motor profiles from school children selected at random and analyzed the separate components of their movements, allowing for age and sex factors. Using Pavlov's types, he found that the excitable type was characterized by rapid, irregular movements, while the inhibited type had slower, more regular, more intense motion, with a uniform increase in tempo and unusual duration. The plastic type, which is Pavlov's average type, has some of the characteristics of the other two types.

G.M. Ssorokhtin, in an article on the mechanism of conditioned reflexes and their differentiation, gave traits of² each of Pavlov's types based on neurological experiments. He also has written a manual of reflexological types of school

1. Noviya Refleksologia I Fiziologia Nervnaya Sistema, 3, (1929), pp. 304-326.

2. "Mekhanizmi Sochetatel'nykh I Diferentzivnykh Reflektov," Sovietskaya Psikhoneurologia, 3, (1927), pp. 216-225.

children, giving a reflexological diagnosis of types in the nervous system, prepared for physicians, pediatricians, and teachers.¹ He examined children by reflexological electrocutaneous techniques, to obtain a differential diagnosis of conditioned reflex type. He developed a typology with five classes, generally similar to Pavlov's. His types were the excitable, inhibited, plastic, torpid, and the parabiologic. Ssorokhtin devised special methods to diagnose each type, based on the general behavior characteristic of each type. He attempted to analogize the Freudian theory of psychosexual development to these types and stressed the distinguishing sexual characteristics of the various age levels of the reflexological types. The developmental psychology of each type and its mental and physical growth are carefully described.

Another paper by Ssorokhtin on mechanisms of conditioned reflexes and their differentiation, also gives the traits associated with each type, based on a neurological study of the manner of the establishment of conditioned reflexes.²

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1. Refleksologicheskie Tipy Detey Shkolnogo Vozrasta: Refleksologicheskaya Diagnostika Tipov Nervnoy Sistemy dlya Vrachey, Pedagogov, i Pedagogov. Leningrad: G I Z, 1928. P. 176.
 2. G. N. Ssorokhtin, "Mekhanizmy Sochetatelnykh i Diferentsiatsionnykh Refleksov," Sovetskaya Psikhoneurologiya, 3, (1927), pp. 216-225.

Belialev and Lukina have used Ssorokhtin's classification in a study of social types of problem children by individual reflexological experimentation.¹ They studied residents of an institution for problem children and found that most of them had poor heredity and seemed to have thyroid pathology and/or hypogenitalism. They classified the children as being either plastic, excitable, unstable, or torpid.

A research to determine the mobility of nervous processes² in dogs of the sanguine type was conducted by V.V. Yakoveva. He notes that mobility of nervous processes can be characterized by the speed of the progress of stimulation, the velocity of the impulse's disappearance when stimulation is discontinued, and the speed with which one process replaces the counter process. In a stimulus reversal, the initially formed connections, both positive and inhibitory, leave a long lasting trace influence.

This trace influence lasts longer for inhibitory connections. The researcher should discriminate between the stability of connections and the intensity of these processes.

Working at the State Institute of Experimental Psychology in Moscow, Luria developed a bifurcate typology analogous to

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1. N. Belialev and A. Lukina, Izvcheniya I Vospitania Lichnosti, 1, (1930), pp. 27-40.
 2. "Issled' Ovanie Podvijnosti Nervnikh Protsessov Sobaki Tipa Sangvi'nika," Trudy Fiziologicheskoi Laboratorii im I. P. Pavlova, 11, (1944), pp. 31-43.

Pavlov's and based on the nervous system.¹ He put his experimental population of students into a traumatic situation and found that the various subjects did not conduct themselves similarly.² He divided the subjects into a reactive-stable and a reactive-labile group which he distinguishes by thirty one symptoms. "Two main features appear here: first the unconditioned sensibility of the nervous system, and second, special defects in the cortical regulators of excitation."³ Luria feels that "the experimental investigation of the reactions of subjects to a traumatic situation is indeed the path⁴ to the diagnosis of their neuropathic constitution."

Working with 120 cases, he found that the reactive-stable type was characterized by coordination and the relative regularity of work. Motor responses were accurate and regular. Behavior was characterized by an obvious regulating process. The reactive-labile type was characterized by disorganisation, delayed reaction time, marked and unequal delays of the speech reactions, and lack of coordination of motor activity. Thirty per cent of his cases were pure intense reactive-labile types, while twenty five per cent were pure reactive-stable types. All the students were equally prepared for the examination and there was thus no

1. A.R. Luria, The Nature of Human Conflicts, or Emotion, Conflict and Will, An Objective Study of Disorganisation and Control of Human Behavior. Translated by W. H. Gantt. New York: Liveright, Incorporated, 1932. P. xvii + 431.

2. Ibid., pp. 71-76.

3. Ibid., p. 75.

4. Ibid., p. 75.

possibility that this was a factor.

"In the reactive-labile types, the characteristic defect of the structure of the reactive processes observed are met with in people having a functionally damaged nervous system."¹ He thinks that this type is prone to disease and to develop neurosis and that although, under ordinary circumstances, its behavior hardly deviates from the normal, the first experience with a major difficulty may produce a neurosis.

A Pavlovian statement of what are usually called the psychocultural and psychosomatic approaches is to be found in an article by V.N. Myasishev on types of behavior and nervous systems.² He remarks on the interplay of inherent and acquired mechanisms which form personality. Each reaction implies what has happened in the past. The personality guides the physical mechanism. Conduct, which is formed by behavior and action, is determined by the joint influence of environment and personality. Myasishev believes that Pavlov's four types are standard conceptual tools for research.

A Scottish writer, A.N. Bruce, has presented the Pavlovian typology as having been confirmed by his own researches.³ He

1. Ibid., p. 74.

2. "O. Tipakh Provedeniya I Tipakh Nervnikh Sistema," Voprosy Izucheniya I Vospitaniya Lichnosti, 10, (1932), pp. 5-12.

3. A. N. Bruce, "The Basis of Temperament," Edinburgh Medical Journal, 48, (1941), pp. 520-534.

defines temperament as the balance between excitation and inhibition. The strength of the individual's neurones, says Bruce, will determine how this balance is effected. He defines excitation and inhibition as different expressions of the biochemistry of nerve cells, which varies from individual to individual. Bruce believes that it is possible to give adequate explanations of the phenomena of sleep, hypnosis, mania, and catalepsy with these concepts.

The German philosopher, psychologist, and graphologist, Ludwig Klages, who was one of the most influential European writers on characterology in the early years of the twentieth century, has presented a typology which is strikingly analogous to Pavlov's, except that it is expressed in more general terms. Klages, who presented his views in his book, Prinzipien der Charakterologie, which went through many editions, said that the structure of personality is determined by the ratio of all the driving forces of the individual to his inhibitive tendencies.¹ Each individual, according to Klages, has a different personal reactivity quotient, which is the result of the formula R/D , with D equalling driving forces while R equals resistance. This is similar to Pavlov's comments on the relation between excitation and inhibition.

1. L. Klages, Prinzipien der Charakterologie. Leipzig: J. A. Barth, 1910. P. vi + 93.

The well known Russian contemporary of Pavlov, V. Bekhterev, also held the view that neural mechanisms control behavior. In his book on objective psychology he said that personality depends on a modality of functioning which predisposes the psychoneural mechanism to certain reactions in preference to others, and enhances the determination of the personal reflexes.¹

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Y. P. Frolov, a biographer of Pavlov, points out that Pavlov himself had told him in private conversation that the first hints of his typology and work on conditioned reflexes came from E. L. Thorndike's The Animal Intelligence,³ and R. Yerkes' The Dancing Mouse.⁴ Pavlov evidently deplored the fact that typology was made largely by "psychiatrists whose views cause them to be regarded as the most conservative representatives of medical science."⁵

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1. V. M. Bekhterev, La Psychologie Objective. Paris: F. Alcan, 1913. P. xiii + 478. P. 450.
 2. Y. P. Frolov, Pavlov and His School, The Theory of Conditioned Reflexes. London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, and Trubner, 1937. P. xix + 291. p. 11.
 3. E. L. Thorndike, The Animal Intelligence. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1898. P. 109.
 4. R. Yerkes, The Dancing Mouse; A Study in Animal Behavior. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1907. P. xxi + 290.
 5. Frolov, op. cit., p. 202.

Frolov comments that the three basic properties of nervous functions are their strength, balance, and lability. The strength of neurones determines the division of the higher nervous activity into strong and weak. The balance is that between the equality or non-equality of the basic nervous processes, excitation and inhibition. Lability is necessary because environments vary¹ so greatly.

He quotes conversations with Pavlov in 1935 in which Pavlov says that only very careful and extensive observations can establish the existence and frequency of these, or other qualities of nervous activity. Pavlov also indicated his opposition to compressing the wealth of physiological types in actual life into a Procrustean bed, which is what may result from many typologies created by psychiatrists and based on clinical data. These typologists' data are, of necessity, restricted by the narrow boundaries of time, place, and social and biological conditions² under which clinical investigations are usually conducted.

Frolov notes that Pavlov first began working on types of nervous systems in 1914, although his caution was such that he published nothing on the subject for almost ten years. In general, Pavlov always waited several years for work to "mature," before printing it. He double checked all researches and used only facts acquired at first hand. Frolov speaks of "the old practice

1. Ibid., pp. 208-209.

2. Ibid., p. 210.

established by him in the laboratory of levying fines for using terms from another science, particularly psychology, in order to avoid confusion and muddled thinking."¹

Limitations of the Typology

A few writers have emphasized the limitations of the Pavlovian typology. E. Schreider remarks that it is "practically impossible to study experimentally, with conditioned reflex techniques, the most complex forms of human conduct."² The psychoanalyst Paul Schilder questions a number of Pavlov's comments on dogs and notes that "the personality factor in dogs makes many of their reactions unpredictable."³ He goes on to emphasize, however, that nobody can deny that psychological processes are dependent on cortical processes. Physiology and psychology, if accurate, should lead to the same results.⁴ Schilder feels that Pavlov's "physiology is pseudophysiology; is popular mosaic psychology expressed in physiological terms. . . . Out of a feeling of insecurity, psychologists and also psychoanalysts were too glad to find experimental proof in animal experimentation."⁵

1. Ibid., p. 262.

2. Les Types Humains. Paris: Hermann et Compagnie, 1937. Volume 1, P. 79, 2, P. 104, 3, P. 105. 2. p. 52.

3. P. Schilder, "Psychoanalysis and Conditioned Reflexes," Psychoanalytic Review, 24, (January, 1937), pp. 1-17, p. 15.

4. Ibid., p. 16.

5. Loc. cit.

Murphy and Jensen also express reservations about Pavlov's type theory. "If a man's movements of his right hand and his left hand . . . are all fast, simply because his nervous system as a whole is . . . 'fast'. . . what real value is there in a type theory? We might just as well say that a black or white skin constitutes a type."¹ They warn that "if what we have in mind is not a pattern or interrelation between characteristics, no clear value is served by talking about types."²

Summary

Pavlov's purpose in creating his typology was to help explain differences in the reactions of his dogs. In general, it appears that he was successful in this. His methodology was a model of precision. The typology's predictive power has been confirmed, to a limited extent, as has its pragmatic value. Most commentators have endorsed the system. There is no experimental evidence which would disprove it. It seems to place special emphasis on heredity, but later modifications of the system recognize the influence of environment. Its approach is more rigorous and empirical than that of most of the other systems of typology.

1. G. Murphy and F. Jensen, Approaches to Personality: Some Contemporary Conceptions Used in Psychology and Psychiatry, p. 28.

2. Loc. cit.

The reflexological system is internally consistent and gives considerable insight. Its major failing in its application to human beings appears to be its inability to get at such important areas as symbolic behavior. It is difficult to compare it to other systems, because its approach and content are so different from them.

CHAPTER XI
SPRANGER'S VALUE TYPES

Edouard Spranger is one of the leading figures in Verstehende or "understanding" psychology, which seeks to understand rather than to explain. Spranger has been a leader in this school of thought which has included some very eminent scholars. There is general agreement that Spranger got most of his inspiration from the great German philosopher and historian Wilhelm Dilthey (1833-1911), a founder of modern existentialist philosophy.¹

In a famous article, Dilthey said that the problem of human types antedates metaphysics and is very important for philosophy. He noted that even though "the individual stages and special aspects of a type are refuted...its root in life persists and continues to function and to bring forth ever new patterns."²

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1. H.L. Friess, "Review of Wilhelm Dilthey's 'Collected Works'," Journal of Philosophy, 26, (1925), pp. 5-25.
 - .. B. Groethuysen, Dilthey et Son Ecole, pp. 1-23.
 - H.A. Hodges, Wilhelm Dilthey, An Introduction. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, and Company, Limited, 1944. P.x + 174.
 - B. Hoff, Die Psychologie Wilhelm Diltheys. Zurich: Grebrueder Neeman, 1926. P. 45.
 2. W. Dilthey, "Die Typen der Weltanschauung und ihre Ausbildung in den Metaphysischen Systemen," in M. Frischeisen-Koeler, editor, Weltanschauung-Philosophie und Religion in Darstellung. Berlin: Springer, 1911. P. 167.

Dilthey says that the structure of reality is always molded by individuals in accordance with their values. Dilthey was interested in ideal types and had a high conception of human nature. He drew a distinction between his own descriptive and analytic psychology and other psychologies which are explanatory in nature.¹ He felt that psychological and philosophical ideas were the results of the value systems of their creators.² A careful documentation of this theme in psychology is presented by N. Pastore in his book on The Nature-Nurture Controversy.

An earlier programmatic article by Dilthey also is believed to have profoundly influenced Spranger.³ In this article in 1894, Dilthey for the first time presented the concepts of value relationship, structure, inner perception.⁴ He said that psychology must be the foundation of all knowledge (Geisteswissenschaften). In studying human individuality, says Dilthey, the approach through singularity and the approach through typology are the only workable techniques. All previous types have been constructed on an ad hoc basis. A cooperative and historical procedure is necessary in creating a sound typology.⁵

1. Ibid., pp. 1-51.

2. Loc. cit.

3. A.A. Roback, The Psychology of Character, p. 391.

4. Dilthey's and Spranger's use of struktur is not related to the structural psychology of Titchener and others in the United States.

5. W. Dilthey, "Ideen ueber eine Beschreibende und Zergliedernde Psychologie," Gesammelte Schriften, Volume 5, pp. 139-240.

Dilthey deplored the explanatory psychology of his day which was attempting to imitate the natural sciences and to discover the elements of conscious experience and the laws governing their combinations. This explanatory psychology could not attack men's motives or the achievements of great men, said Dilthey. It could say nothing significant about institutions and culture, or historical change. Descriptive and analytic psychology would start with the whole mental life of the individual and go from there to the parts. The approach must be affective and intuition¹ as well as intellectual.

Born in 1882, Edouard Spranger attended the University of Berlin and remained there as a professor of philosophy. His study of Types of Men² has been very influential and rapidly went through many printings and five editions in a few years.³ This book represents the final statement of his typology. He emphasizes his concentration on superbiological levels in which meaning-content becomes significant beyond mere adaptation. His procedure is to isolate a value tendency, to idealize it, to see its relation to a whole personality, and to see how it is individualized by special circumstances. He

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1. Loc. cit.; see also R.S. Woodworth, Contemporary Schools of Psychology, pp. 249-250, and H. Kluever, "Contemporary German Psychology as a Cultural Science," in G. Murphy, An Historical Introduction to Modern Psychology, pp. 443-455.
 2. E. Spranger, Types of Men: the Psychology and Ethics of Personality. Translated from the fifth German edition by P.J. Pigors Halle: Max Neimeyer Verlag, 1928. P. xii + 402.
 3. Roback, op. cit., p. 320.

realizes that his method is one-sided and abstract but feels¹ that this will serve to bring order to the complexity of life.

Spranger ignores genetic and developmental factors and takes a cross section of the subject's values at the stage of maturity and regards them as constant. He feels that the structure of the individual mind is articulated in value acts and experiences, and that every level of action can be related to a specific class of values. He feels that a philosophy of culture (Geisteswissenschaft) is a prerequisite for a psychology of individual differences. His idealized, eternal types are to be used in the construction of social and historical reality. They are found by considering, in each case, one definite meaning and value direction as dominant in the individual personality structure, inasmuch as in every mental phenomenon, the totality of mind is somehow immanent. For example, in dice, although only one side of the die shows, the other sides are² still present. There are six basic attitudes.

The Six Value Types

The first of these is the theoretic value attitude. It identifies and differentiates, generalizes and individualizes, reasons and systematizes, to a very great extent. Subjective relations recede to the background and only the objective essence of the phenomenon is sought. This type values the purity of the cognitive process, and is most easily found in the scholar.

1. Ibid., pp. viii & x.

2. Ibid., pp. 22-105.

Economic attitudes are secondary. Plato, for example, depreciated business. Aesthetics are secondary. Kant, for example, objected to music because he never understood the general laws on which it is based.

In the social field, the theorist is a complete individualist. He is inadequate in political matters because of his feeling of superiority. Once he shows a political or economic or social opinion to be erroneous, he is no longer interested in the problem which occasioned the opinion. For example, Erasmus couldn't understand why anyone found Luther's translation of the New Testament more important than his own Latin translation. The type tends to be aristocratic. In religion, it tends to have a repugnancy for mysticism and to be sympathetic to Spinoza's amor intellectualis Dei. Principles and maxims are prime motive forces. The type's chief virtue is truth. Thus Hegel, when shown the incongruence between his own speculations and reality, said, "All the worse for reality."¹

The economic value attitude may characterize either producers or consumers. This type prefers utility to all other values, and sees everything as a means of self preservation. The economic man economizes goods so as to maximize his gain. Thus, Herbert Spencer's pedagogy summarizes all knowledge according to the degree to which it contributes to the self preservation of the species. This value type is egotistical. Goodness is equated with business credit. Law is regarded as

1. Ibid., pp. 105-129.

a normalization of economic conditions. Inventiveness is¹
highly regarded by the type.

The aesthetic value attitude has ascending levels of impression, expression, and finally aesthetic form. This type lives in concrete and perceptual abundance of experiences and feelings. It creates artistic expressions from impressions. The aesthetic's conception of the essence of nature has considerable affinity with the mythological method, in that forces are personified. Eccentricity and self importance are common, as is eroticism. Thus, Oscar Wilde saw socialism as little more than a delightful aesthetic experience, in his essay on Socialism and the Soul of Man. The aesthetic's creed is a religion of beauty. Wilde, for example, saw Jesus Christ as an "aesthete of the soul," while Nietzsche said that the world can only be justified as an aesthetic phenomenon. Kierkegaard pointed out that the artist is always a haunted man.²

The social value type is distinguished by an affirming interest in another person. In the social type, the impulse to give oneself to another is dominant. The highest development of the social quality is love. This type lives, not immediately through himself, but in others. To the social type, science has no soul, while economic laws are also cold. The transition³ to religious life is easy.

1. Ibid., pp. 130-146.

2. Ibid., pp. 147-172.

3. Ibid., pp. 172-187.

In the political value attitude, all of human life is oriented toward power and competition. The political man makes everything subservient to power and the control of men. This type is constantly trying to be superior to everyone else.¹

The religious value attitude is a search for the highest value of mental life. The achievement of religious good is felt to be salvation. The religious type is permanently pointing toward the highest absolutely satisfying value experience. Such people find science valueless, since it must leave the final question unsolved. This attitude is almost incomprehensible today to us, as are the religious wars of former times, which were struggles for one truth to conquer the world. People whose major values are religious and who have once felt grace, which is a suffusion of the entire being with the highest value,² try again and again to regain its blessedness.

Critical Comments

In his book, Spranger discusses ethics, morality, and law from the point of view of each of these types. He regards economic values as the lowest and religious values as the highest. He feels that "our analysis is completely proved and substantiated by the fact that all phenomena of mental life can be understood as permutations of these simple, partial structures."³

1. Ibid., pp. 188-209.

2. Ibid., pp. 210-245.

3. Ibid., p. 319.

Kluever, commenting on Spranger's insistence that psychology should concentrate on meaning, asks if a machine doesn't also have meaning.¹ He decries the complicated and unreal premises of Spranger. Kluever points out that these types are neither psychological nor empirical nor historical, but are indices for conceptualizing reality. He interprets Spranger's struktur as emphasizing performance context, but remarks that a trait or value or performance must be considered in terms of its function in, and relation to, the total structure of the mind. Spranger only concerns himself with the structures formed by mental functions. His only milieu is that environment in which meaning may take various directions. Every deed is judged with regard to its value. Why, asks Kluever, are there only six value types, in the face of the multitude of spheres of meaning? He also feels that some of these types, like the social and political, are too complex, and include more than one orientation.

Although Kluever believes that Spranger's work is essentially a contribution to the philosophy of history rather than to psychology, Ernst Troeltsch, one of the world's most eminent historians, has said that Spranger's types are too rigid for use in history.²

A.A. Roback questions the advisability of attempting to discover uniqueness by bunching interests under one general heading.³ Although historical empiricism was used

1. H. Kluever, "The Problem of Types in Cultural Science Psychology", Journal of Philosophy, 22, (1925), pp. 225-234.

2. Der Historismus und Seine Probleme, p. 94.

3. The Psychology of Character, pp. 320-338.

to establish these value forms, it is clearly possible for us to imagine a time when these values will have a significance different from that which they have today. Roback chides Spranger for not realizing that a value form has reference to what an individual is, rather than to what he does or can do. To this, Spranger would doubtless reply that the former is responsible for the latter. Roback claims that these value types are really instinct types. He would derive the economic man from the instinct for food, the politician from pugnacity, the philosopher from wonder, the religious type from fear, the social type from gregariousness, and the aesthetic type from the sexual instinct. Roback feels that even granting the validity of these types, their basis lies in instincts, and they should not be camouflaged as value types. It should be remembered that Roback made this comment during the period when the contemporary McDougallian emphasis on instincts was very popular among¹ psychologists.

Schwesinger, describing the reactions of each of these six types to a ride in an automobile through new territory, notes that the aesthetic type would enjoy the scenery's beauty while the theorist would ponder its geology and relation to² the neighborhood. The economic type would think of its land value and its crops, while the social type would be interested in its residents and their doings. The political type would think of how he might become powerful in that area, while the religious type would see the hand of God in the landscape.

1. W. McDougall, Introduction to Social Psychology.

2. G.C. Schwesinger, Heredity and Environment, p. 379.

Jan Christian Smuts, the philosopher who became an international political figure, has indicated that his indebtedness¹ to Spranger's typology is considerable. Marcuse has adapted Spranger's types to a study of culture, but has set up involved² hierarchies of values that seem to be quite gratuitous.

Schmied-Kowarzik attempted to discuss Dilthey's and Spranger's "understanding" psychology in its relation to "explanatory³ natural science" psychology. He notes how Dilthey originally distinguished between descriptive-analytic and explanatory psychology, while Spranger distinguished between higher mental life, centered on psychic structures, and lower mental life, centered on external nature. Spranger's contribution is a part of Dilthey's psychology. The division between general analytic psychology and empirical psychology is absolute. However, empirical psychology needs analytic psychology, just as physics needs mathematics.

Dessoir has repeated Spranger's injunction that only a⁴ person's values should be used in creating a typology.

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1. J.C. Smuts, Holism and Evolution.
 2. L. Marcuse, "Die Struktur der Kultur," Jahrbuch der Charakterologie, Band 2, cited by Roback. op. cit., p. 334.
 3. W. Schmied-Kowarzik, "Diltheys und Sprangers Verstehende Psychologie in ihrem Verhaeltnis zur Enklaerenden Naturwissenschaftlichen Psychologie," Archiv Fuer die Gesamte Psychologie, 58, (1927), pp. 281-306.
 4. M. Dessoir, "Character Types," Character and Personality, 3, (1935), pp. 214-221.

He says that a typology based on inherent qualities or one based on formal functions are inadequate, because the individual's attitude toward life is all important and permeates everything. He wants to shave Spranger's six types down to three: the Being Man (Seinsmensch), who has few values and just keeps alive, the Life Man (Lebensmensch), whose aim is to live comfortably, and the Achievement Man (Leistungsmensch), whose dominant value is not in achieving something for himself but in achieving something to advance humanity.

Factor analysis has been used in an attempt to confirm Spranger's typology. In one experiment, some two hundred college students were given a preference test with 144 items, which had been rated by the examiner on the basis of dominant values.¹ Tetrachonic correlations were obtained, and a factor analysis performed. Only four basic value attitudes were obtained. These were the social, philistine, theoretical, and religious.

Two other experimenters prepared speeches and selected people with voices predominately characterized by one of Spranger's types.² These voices were transmitted over a loud-speaker to college students. The students were able to identify

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1. W.A. Lurie, "A Study of Spranger's Value Types by the Method of Factor Analysis," Journal of Social Psychology, 8, (1937), pp. 17-37.
 2. P.J. Fay and W.C. Middleton, "Judgement of Spranger Personality Types from the Voice as Transmitted Over a Public Address System," Character and Personality, 8, (1939), pp. 144-155.

the types with relative ease, although they found that it was easiest to rate the political, aesthetic, and social types.

Hermesmeier attempted to make a contribution to the question¹ of the character structure of teachers and educators. He investigated eighty male and ninety female students and twenty teachers, of all age groups, to determine which of Spranger's values were predominant. He found the social value most predominant, followed by the aesthetic. As teachers grow older, their interest in theoretical values fades and their interest in religious values increases. The political and economic values were least popular. The religious and theoretical values, in young adults, were found to be intermediate in popularity.

Todd attempted to discover if attendance at college changes students' values in terms of Spranger's list of basic value types.² He studied 3, 167 male students in 103 high schools and preparatory schools. He attempted to determine what, in terms of Spranger's system, their value types were, before, during, and after college attendance. He found that college does change

1. F. Hermesmeier, "Ein Betrag zu der Frage der Charakterstruktur des Lehrers und Erziehers." Zeitschrift fuer Paedagogische und Experimentelle Paedagogik, 42, (1941), pp. 13-35.

2. J.E. Todd, Social Norms and the Behavior of College Students. New York: Teachers' College Contributions to Education, Number 833, 1941. P. xi + 190.

values, and does so for the worse, from a Sprangerian point of view. He suggests that colleges should seriously concern themselves with developing better values.

A book on medical psychology aimed at French-Canadian physicians presents arguments for Spranger's typology as an extremely workable one for the use of physicians.¹ However, the author does not seem to be too conversant with other typologies.

P.E. Vernon and G.W. Allport in their Study of Values² have created a very widely used test for generalized values. They explain that the test was devised on the basis of Spranger's typology. The test consists of a series of concrete situations, each of which poses several alternatives. Each alternative is related to a dominant value. Allport and Vernon standardized the test on 463 men and 313 women, and found that the men were higher in economic, theoretical, and political values, while women were higher in aesthetic, social, and religious values. The alternatives given are controversial: a typical question, for example, asks if a good government should concern itself with more aid for the poor, sick, and aged, or the development of trade and manufacturing, or introducing moral principles into diplomacy, or establishing a position of respect among other nations. Of these several choices only one must be selected. The presumption of the test is that selecting one of these alternatives will indicate a person's values.

1. J.S. A. Bois, Psychologie et Medecine. Montreal: L'Institut Psychologique, 1944. P. 224.

2. "A Test for Personal Values," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 26, (1931), pp. 231-248.

On each of the six values, it is possible to score from 0 to 60. A score of below 20 on any value is significantly low, 30 is the theoretical neutral point, and above 40 is high. Thus, a profile giving the deviations below and above 30 should give the individual's major values. Allport and Vernon found considerable agreement between the political and economic types and between social and religious types. Some types, like economic and political, are antagonistic to others of a gentler nature, such as the aesthetic and religious.

It is difficult to confirm the validity of such a subjective measure as the Allport-Vernon Scale. However, most studies have upheld its reliability and validity. Thus, a group of theological students got very high scores on religious values and high on social values, while their other scores were low. A study of professors of psychology showed they had high theoretical, aesthetic and social values, and low political and economic values. Dartmouth undergraduate students had high economic and political values, while Wellesley undergraduate students had high aesthetic and religious values.¹

One method for obliquely confirming Spranger's underlying hypothesis about the permanence of interests is the Strong Vocational Interest Inventory,² which is the most thorough study ever made of adult interests. It is based on data from all age

1. R. Stagner, Psychology of Personality, pp. 215-216.

2. E.K. Strong, Jr., Vocational Interests of Men and Women. Stanford University Press, 1943. P. 746.

groups, and Strong's analysis has shown that interests change very little throughout the entire life span. There is a remarkable stability in the pattern of likes and dislikes which the individual shows even during adolescence. At twenty, the individual has pretty much acquired the interests he will have throughout life. These general statements jibe with Spranger's, if interests can be considered analogous to values. One study showed that people with different interests had different kinds of personality and preferred different kinds of social adjustment.¹ Thus, people with science interests enjoyed smaller groups of intimate friends, while people with business interests enjoyed big social gatherings and a wide circle of acquaintances. The same article discusses a factor analysis of the Strong test which produced six basic factors, which cannot really be equated with Spranger's six types because Strong's are in terms of vocation. However, an earlier study, in which the same people were given the Allport-Vernon value scale and the Strong Interest Inventory showed significant positive relationships between scores on the two tests.²

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1. L.E. Tyler, "Relationships Between Strong Vocations Interest Scores and Other Attitudes and Personality Factors". Journal of Applied Psychology, 29, (1945), pp. 58-67.
 2. J.G. Darley, "A Preliminary Study of Relations Between Adjustment and Vocational Interest Tests," Journal of Educational Psychology, 27, (1938), pp. 467-473.

Van Dusen, Wimberley, and Mosier prepared an inventory of values in which they used Spranger's values but omitted the political value, because it had so much in common with the economic.¹ They feel that the religious and social values probably have a common factor which may be described as humanitarianism.

Glaser and Maller have prepared an inventory of interest values which is based on Spranger's types, except that the political and religious values were eliminated.² This test consists of word associations and questions, which correspond to the four basic values. These four basic types were found to be the theoretic, aesthetic, social, economic, with a fifth or mixed type.

Thomson has studied the relationship between tests of values and other tests,² and Duffy,⁴ Rathes,⁵ and Maller,⁶ have made comprehensive reviews of tests of values.

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1. A.C. Van Dusen, S. Wimberley, and C.I. Mosier, "Standardization of a Value Inventory," Journal of Educational Psychology, 30, (1939), pp. 43-62.
 2. E.A. Glaser and J.B. Maller, "The Measurement of Interest Values," Character and Personality, 9, (1940), pp. 67-81.
 3. W.A. Thomson, "An Inventory for Measuring Socialization- Self Seeking and Its Relationship to the Study of Values Test, the A.C.E. Psychological Examination, and the Strong Vocational Interest Blank," Journal of Applied Psychology, 25, (1941), pp. 202-212.
 4. E.A. Duffy, "A Critical Review of Investigations Employing the Allport-Vernon Study of Values and Other Tests of Evaluation Attitudes," Psychological Bulletin, 37, (1940), pp. 597-612.
 5. L.E. Rathes, "Approaches to the Measurement of Values," Educational Research Bulletin, Ohio State University, 19, (1940), pp. 275-282.
 6. J.B. Maller, "Personality Tests," in J. McV. Hunt, editor, Personality and the Behavior Disorders, Volume 1, pp. 195-197.

Thurstone proved, by factor analysis, that all the interests covered in the Strong test could be explained in terms of four factors: interest in science, languages, people, and business.¹ He did not attempt to translate his results into Sprangerian terms.

Probably the most celebrated use ever made of Spranger's typology was made by the eminent Columbia University anthropologist Ruth Benedict in her Patterns of Culture, which was one of the first anthropological studies to become popular with the general public and which has been reprinted in "pocket" editions.² She discusses the necessity for studying societies which are not related to our own so as to shed fresh light on race prejudice, law, and cultural forces. She speaks of the necessity for regarding the culture as a whole. "The whole Struktur school has devoted itself to work of this kind in various fields."³

She notes that ". . . in the social sciences the importance of interpretation and configuration was stressed in the last generation by Wilhelm Dilthey. . . especially in Die Typen der Weltanschauung. . ."⁴

Benedict discusses the societies of the Pueblos of New Mexico, the Dobuans of the South Seas, and the Kwakiutl of

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1. K.L. Thurstone, "Multiple Factor Study of Vocational Interests," Personnel Journal, 10, (1931), pp. 198-205.
 2. Patterns of Culture, New York: Penguin Books, 1934. P. 272.
 3. Ibid., p. 46.
 4. Ibid., p. 47.

the Pacific Northwest coast, and shows how completely different the value system of each is, and how this value system makes the whole culture different. "The problem of social value is intimately involved in the fact of the different patternings of cultures."¹ This book has had a tremendous influence and it may be presumed that its dependence on "cultural science psychology" and value systems has been absorbed by many of its readers. In an earlier short paper, also influenced by Spranger, she showed how important the value systems of the Plains Indians and the Penitentes were in their respective societies.²

Thus, Spranger's system stemming from Dilthey, has had considerable influence both in Europe and America. It flatters human nature in its ideal types, which represent ultimate patterns. It provided a reminder that psychology could not and should not over-emphasize segmental analysis and genetic factors. Clearly, some significant values - hedonism, for example - are not included in this typology. This system can never be regarded as being more than segmental. Spranger does not realize that each of his types may contain many sub-types.

The relationship between values and specific traits, or between values and personality, is not made clear by Spranger.

1. Ibid., p. 227.

2. R. Benedict, "Psychological Types in the Cultures of the Southwest", Proceedings of the Twenty Third International Congress of Americanists, 1928, pp. 572-581.

The present conception of a multi-faceted and dynamic personality is opposed to this system of stylized values. Spranger sees personality as a structure, and as a totality which is characterized by meaningful relationships, in close contact with a historically developed cultural environment. This personality's primary function is evaluating. This concept from "cultural science psychology" seems somewhat inadequate in view of the many concepts which have been advanced by "natural science psychology" to discuss and explain personality.

Spranger's attempt to set up a system of value types is almost disarming by its repeated disclaimers of any attempt to type real people. It is a schematic and idealized system. This system is static and seems to lend itself to a kind of fatality, in assuming that people are born with a particular set of values and can do little about changing them. There are no data, except for anecdotal historical material. Spranger was not a psychologist but a professional philosopher. He developed his system as a counter against predominant Wundtian psychophysics of the early twentieth century. It achieved the purpose of spreading interest in values and life goals, although it ignores completely the work of psychology on motivation, personality, and other relevant areas. Its aid to predictive power is minimal, and more suggestive than positive. It ignores the manner in which people develop these value trends rather than others, as well as all considerations of environment and social structure. Spranger ignores all other typologies in creating his own.

Spranger had a profound influence on the Heidelberg philosopher-psychiatrist Karl Jaspers, whose Psychologie der Weltanschauungen¹ was greatly influenced by Spranger.

It is interesting to note that the psychoanalyst E. Fromm² has created types which recall Spranger's. Fromm's marketing, exploitative, and hoarding types can be interpreted as subdivisions of Spranger's economic type. Spranger's social and religious types can be interpreted as subdivisions of Fromm's productive orientation. The psychoanalyst K. Horney's aggressive type³ is reminiscent of Spranger's political type. Neither Fromm nor Horney, however, mention Spranger in their books.

Spranger's system offers very little in the way of predictive power. Its pragmatic value in the study of personality has been largely through the use of the Allport-Vernon test of values. Most psychologists would not regard it as a workable or very significant technique for typing people, and the illumination it sheds is rather inconsiderable. It neither agrees nor disagrees with any other system because it takes no cognizance of them, and because its approach is so different.

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1. Psychologie der Weltanschauungen. Berlin: Springer, 1925. P. 486.
 2. E. Fromm, Man for Himself.
 3. K. Horney, Our Inner Conflicts.

CHAPTER XII

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

Systems of typology have been used extensively by psychology and the social sciences for many years. They have usually been used with little regard for their validity. They may be broadly grouped into psychoanalytic, physiological, and philosophical systems of types, although these groupings do not mirror any organic continuity within each group, but represent convenient ways of looking at typologies.¹

Although there has been a great deal of discussion about individual systems of types, there have been almost no surveys of the field of typology as a whole. There has been considerable debate on the nature and usefulness of systems of types, with some students maintaining that types can be of great value to the study of organic disease, education, the social sciences, and many other areas. Other students of the subject have been equally positive about the non-existence of types and they have maintained that types are the results of mere word juggling and that typologies are completely artificial constructs, which correspond to nothing in reality. There have been sharp differences between type theorists who hold that the whole personality, as this

1. Chapter I.

is seen through a typology, determines an individual's traits, and trait theorists who believe that a study of traits can adequately explain personality without any introduction of the concept of types.¹

Freud and Abraham created the first psychoanalytic typology, which is built around the idea that traumatization of the oral or anal zones in infancy and childhood may cause the adult personality to center around the experiences connected with these zones when the individual was young.² These individuals, as adults, would be oral or anal personalities. Oral traits may derive from the sucking stage, in which case the individual will be very demanding and may use speech to achieve emotional gratification. Individuals for whom the oral biting stage was important may tend to be ambivalent. Generosity, restlessness, and curiosity are among the characteristics of the oral person.

The anal person will tend to be stingy, obstinate, and orderly. His personality will be either a perpetuation, a sublimation, or a reaction formation of the toilet training situation. Feces may be identified with money, causing anal people to be miserly. They may be cruel, vicious, and morose.

The genital person is the only one who can adequately handle his social environment. He keeps some traces of the oral

1. Chapter II.

2. Chapter III.

and anal stages but has overcome ambivalence and is not narcissistic. He has successfully resolved his Oedipus conflict and is able to maintain affectionate relationships on an adult level.

Applying the criteria listed at the beginning of this study¹, it would appear that the original purpose of this system was to assist in the practice of psychoanalysis. This purpose was evidently achieved, to judge by the enthusiasm with which psychoanalysts have accepted and used the system. The original data consisted of observation of patients during psychoanalyses. The Freudian system is internally consistent. There is some evidence, primarily anthropological, which contradicts the Freudian system, or which, in any case, makes it open to serious question. The analytic system has given evidence of having predictive power. It has been used by writers, sociologists, and anthropologists, as well as by psychoanalysts.

Many serious and radical objections have been made to the very existence of these psychoanalytic types, and to the manner of confirming their existence, which has been largely clinical rather than experimental. Many scientists believe that highly exaggerated claims have been made for the importance of the analytic typology. The psychoanalytic typology tends to ignore the effect of such factors as heredity, parental attitudes, and the socio-economic environment. If the system were validated,

1. Supra, pp. 4-6.

its illuminative power would be great. Inasmuch as this validation is very uncertain at the present time, the system cannot be used definitively. The typological systems of Horney and Fromm represent diluted versions of Freud's system.

The psychoanalyst, C. G. Jung, is the creator of the introversion-extraversion typology.¹ The introvert is largely interested in himself, while extraverts exalt the value of the external world. Each of these two basic types is divided into thinking, feeling, sensation, and intuition subtypes. The average person is an ambivert, rather than a sharply defined introvert or extravert. Factor analysis has recently been employed in a number of well designed researches and all these researches have produced a general factor of introversion-extraversion.

The purpose of Jung's system was to establish a basic dichotomy in types of men. Jung had no empirical data but used his study of myth, history, and literature. Jung's system is internally consistent. Psychologists have found many cases in which this typology does not fit the facts. The typology has little predictive power, primarily because of its lack of appreciation of personality dynamics. It has been used primarily in the fields of aesthetics and popular psychology. Most psychologists do not believe it is possible to classify human beings into introvert and extravert, and they regard the ambivert category as being comparatively meaningless. Jung's system

1, Chapter 4.

overemphasizes heredity and completely ignores such important considerations as the effect of maturation on personality, the effect of the situation on the person, and the findings of learning theory. The Jungian typology is somewhat analogous to Rorschach's system, which is almost contemporary with it. The typology's usefulness is uncertain and it cannot be said that it has given definitive evidence of great illuminative power.

Hermann Rorschach created the concept of the experience type as an aid in interpreting the test which he created.¹ The person's type is determined by studying the subject's Rorschach test record and determining the ratio of the movement responses to the color responses. The person whose record has a preponderance of human movement responses is introversive while the subject whose record has a preponderance of color responses is extroversive. Education and growth tend to narrow the experience type.

Quite a few investigators have found that it is helpful to classify people into those who are form-dominant and those who are color-dominant, and this classification has been empirically confirmed. This is analogous to, but not similar to, the Rorschach distinction between movement and color dominance. A large scale research on differentiating Negroes and Whites by experience type showed that the concept of the Rorschach type was a valid means of discrimination among groups.

In creating his typology, Rorschach's data were obtained

1. Chapter V.

by administering experimentally created ink blots to patients and comparing the patients' responses to the ink blots with what he discovered about his patients during psychoanalyses. He unfortunately had completed only one set of ink blots at his untimely death. His system possesses internal consistency. Most researchers who have attempted to confirm the test have found no evidence to disprove it. Most of these attempts have utilized clinical evidence, with confirmation by psychiatric interview.

The predictive power of Rorschach's typology is considerable, if it is assumed to be valid. Its pragmatic value, in clinical testing, has been great. Opinions of psychologists about the Rorschach test and about its validation are inconclusive, with the clinicians claiming that it has been clinically verified while other psychologists maintain that clinical verification is inadequate and circular. Rorschach's typology is compatible with most of the basic tenets of modern psychology. The system is somewhat analogous to Jung's system. If the Rorschach test itself were positively validated, then the typology's illuminative power could be considerable.

The psychoanalyst Karen Horney has created a typology the chief criterion of which is the manner in which one reacts to people.¹ The compliant type moves toward people, the aggressive type moves against people, and the detached type moves away from people.

1. Chapter VI.

This typology suffers from its creator's difficulty in defining it very specifically and her contradictory attempts to explain the cause of each of these types. Horney's typology was created to aid clinicians and psychotherapists. The system's data stem from Horney's psychoanalyses, and are primarily anecdotal. Although Horney's system is based on the interplay of culture and personality, she ignores almost all of the considerable material available on the nature and interaction of culture and personality.

This typology has practically no predictive power. Its practical value would not appear to be high. There has not been much discussion of the system but the discussions which have appeared have been severely critical. The typology is at variance with many of the basic teachings of modern psychology. Horney's typology is essentially an attenuated version of Freud's system. The illuminative power of Horney's system is questionable.

Erich Fromm, a psychoanalyst, sees the main distinguishing features of people to be the nature of their relatedness to the world.¹ Around this concept, he has built his typology. Fromm sees two general kinds of relatedness, which he calls the productive and the non-productive orientations. The non-productive orientation, which is characteristic of most people, is divided into receptive, exploitative, hoarding, and marketing orientations. The receptive type likes to receive things and to seek oral

1. Chapter VII.

gratification. The exploitative type wants to take things from others by stratagem or by stealing. The hoarding type is mainly interested in saving money and in acquiring possessions. The marketing type's chief characteristic is the concept of oneself as a saleable commodity. These four sub-types of the non-productive orientation are considered unhealthy and emotionally sterile.

The productive orientation, on the other hand, is a healthy type, the chief characteristic of which is spontaneity. This is a sort of rough parallel of Freud's genital type, just as Fromm's non-productive orientations suggest Freud's oral and anal characters. Fromm is not very clear in describing how these types are created and the processes of growth they undergo.

Fromm's original purpose in creating this system was to assist the study of personality and to foster a revival of spontaneity in contemporary conduct. His data came from historical analogies and from his clinical experience in psychoanalysis. The typology is internally consistent. Fromm ignores the findings of developmental psychology on the growth of personality. His system has predictive power, but only to a slight extent. Its practical value has not been confirmed. The system has not received much criticism but the criticism which it has received has been quite severe. Fromm's system is at variance with the findings of modern psychology on a number of counts. Its illuminative power has yet to be proved.

Erich R. Jaensch was the leading exponent of an eidetic imagery typology.¹ He divided people into a T and a B type, based on their degree of eideticism. After Hitler came to power in Germany, Jaensch completely revised his conclusions to fit Nazi teachings on race, and most scientists stopped studying his work. The purpose of Jaensch's system was to classify people into perception and psychophysical reaction types. The system was originally set up on the basis of experiments on the degree of eidetic vision, and observations of the effect of chemical changes on eideticism. The typology in its original formulation possessed internal consistency.

Jaensch's view of the complexities of personality is naive. His system claimed predictive power which was never verified. Experimenters with the typology seemed on the verge of making important discoveries about perception and personality but these were never consummated. The system was violently controversial, but most researchers were unable to confirm the validity of the system and found data which contradicted the typology. The Jaensch typology almost completely ignored the effect of environment on personality. The eidetic system has little in common with other typologies. The system's illuminative power, for which much was claimed, was never confirmed.

The endocrine typology which is best known is that of Louis Berman.² He said that personality is centered around one

1. Chapter VIII.

2. Chapter IX.

or a combination of several glands, like the pituitary, thyroid, hyperthyroid, thymus, and gonads. Berman's purpose was to create workable categories for classifying human beings on the basis of endocrine functioning. Berman always hinted at the existence of confirming experimental data, but these were never made explicit. His actual data were anecdotal and historical, rather than empirical. It is possible to be emphatic in dismissing Berman's typology because of the great body of contradictory experimental data available on the endocrines.

The system's predictive power is not great, and its pragmatic value slight. Almost no scientists have endorsed this typology, which, among many other defects, completely ignores modern psychology. Attempts have been made to correlate psychoanalysis with endocrine types, with little success. The illuminative power of the Berman typology is very questionable.

Recent work on the endocrines has made it clear that the relationship between the endocrines and the organism, and between the endocrines and personality, is so complex that it is impossible to speak of endocrine types. Changes in personality may actually cause changes in glandular functioning, instead of vice versa, as the endocrine typology suggested.

There is considerable evidence from animal experiments to show that animals do fall into various endocrine types. Experiments on humans, however, have produced very uneven results and even the study of psychotics has produced no clear proof of endocrine dominance of the personality.

I. P. Pavlov divided his dogs into excitatory and inhibited types, based on the comparative strength of their nervous systems.¹ He later revised this so that the excitatory became the choleric type, the inhibitory became the melancholic type, and a central or average type was divided into phlegmatic and sanguine subdivisions. Pavlov's purpose in creating his typology was to explain differences in the reactions of his dogs. His data were obtained by very careful experimentation with conditioned reflexes, under rigorous scientific conditions. Several other scientists, working not only in Russia but also in Europe and America, found confirmation for Pavlov's reflexological types. Pavlov's system possesses internal consistency.

No evidence to disprove Pavlov's typology has been reported. Pavlov's typology has some predictive power, and it has been used in the study of human beings. The system has been endorsed by many specialists. Some scientists have questioned the extent to which nervous system types can cast light on such complex areas of human functioning as symbolic and intellectual functioning. Pavlov minimizes environment and emphasizes the very predominant influence of heredity in the formation of the temperament of his dogs. The reflexological typology has little in common with other systems. Were it finally validated, this typology would have considerable illuminative power. Its use with human beings, however, has not been definitively validated.

1. Chapter X.

Edouard Spranger produced a typology which was based on idealized values.¹ He selected a person's major value as the clue to his personality. His values were the theoretic, economic, aesthetic, social, political, and religious. Spranger felt that his method of classifying people on the basis of their values would materially assist not only psychology but also history and philosophy.

He had no empirical data but used anecdotes and observations from literature, history, and biography. His system has internal consistency and appears not to contradict, or to be contradicted by, any relevant researches which have used the system. The typology's predictive power appears to be slight. It has proved its pragmatic value primarily as a basis for tests of personality, and has had some use in anthropology. As a method of classifying personalities, most psychologists regard it as inadequate and incomplete, because of the limited area of personality which the system uses. Spranger was a professional philosopher, and was rather indifferent to the findings of modern psychology. His typology is mildly analogous to the systems of Horney and Fromm. The system's illuminative power would appear to be slight.

Conclusions

The major conclusion of this survey of typologies would appear to be that there is no very positive evidence which

1. Chapter XI.

completely substantiates any of them as an adequate technique for classifying human beings. The pitfalls, weaknesses, and gaps in typologies, are so great, as shown in this study, that their use may be more dangerous than helpful. The question most germane to this investigation is: after studying the genesis, history, content, use, and limitations of typologies, and after applying the criteria used in this study, is it possible to accept and believe in modern typologies? On the basis of this investigation, it would be necessary to answer "no" to this question.

Each system is either too limited or contradictory evidence exists, which disproves the tenets of the system. There is evidence, for example, which contradicts the Freudian system. Even though Jung's introversion-extraversion may be an actual dimension of personality, it is difficult to believe that it represents an actual dichotomous grouping of people. Rorschach's typology is easily applicable but his test, of which the typology is an integral part, is still impossible to score objectively. Horney's typology is so generalized as to be almost symbolic. Fromm's system of types is of more significance as ethics than as a workable psychological tool.

In the field of physiological types, the eidetic typology promised much but produced little and it became a servant of Nazism. The endocrine typologists made fantastic claims which were never confirmed, and it has been shown recently that the

nature of endocrine activity is so complicated that it is naive to assume that a gland or a combination of glands can control personality. Pavlov constructed his reflexological types on the basis of sound empirical evidence but it is unlikely that his typology can adequately describe human behavior.

Spranger's typology, because of its limited approach, can never be more than a segmental approach to personality, even though it has been validated to a limited extent.

It would appear, from a study of these types, that most creators of typologies have not bothered to study what had been done in the field by previous workers, in contradiction to the practice in most scientific fields. There is, for example, no review of previous literature in almost all of the systems of types mentioned above.

It is also noteworthy that almost all the other disciplines which have used typology have often done so on an extremely haphazard basis, not choosing intelligently from among those systems which were available but selecting one system which seems to have been "in the air" at the time. Ordinarily cautious investigators often seem to abandon their scientific standards when selecting or working with a typology.

The unscientific manner in which most typologies were created is confirmed by the fact that not one of the systems discussed in this study even attempts to arrive at a rounded working definition of personality, which they are presumably attempting to classify. Typologies are established to assist in the study of

personality by dividing people into qualitatively similar groups. However, no typologist seems to have a firm picture of the entity - personality - about which he is writing. Although there has been a ferment of research activity in the area of personality, no typologist discussed in this study uses or acknowledges the existence of this material.

Probably the most scientifically alarming feature of most typologies is their cavalier attitude toward methodology and toward the usual precautions of scientific method. The only typologist to whom this stricture does not apply is Pavlov, whose typology's value with human beings is unconfirmed. Almost every one of the rules and precautions of the rudiments of psychological methodology listed in a discussion like that of Andrews, for example, is violated or ignored by almost every typologist discussed above.¹ There is no reason to exempt typologies from the application of the criteria of methodology which are applied to every serious attempt to enlarge human knowledge. The disregard of typologies for problems of method is a very serious argument against their use.

The criteria used in this study² were selected on the basis of the consensus of the findings of organizations like the Social Science Research Council on what good research in the social sciences should be like. The weaknesses of typologies

1. T. G. Andrews, "An Introduction to Psychological Methodology", in T. G. Andrews, editor, Methods of Psychology. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1948. P. xiv & 716. pp.1-23.

2. Supra, pp. 4-6.

are highlighted by the application of these criteria, because it is so often difficult to make any meaningful statement about the relevance of the criteria to the typology. It is clear that the creators of most of these systems of typology never bothered to measure their systems with any criteria at all.

Recommendations

It would appear desirable that there be more cross fertilization among typologies. There have only been a very few attempts to combine and synthesize the findings of several typologies. Inasmuch as each typology usually measures only a restricted dimension of personality, it might be possible to construct a typology which would measure more than one dimension.

There are a number of areas in which factor analysis could be used to validate typologies. So far, it has only been used extensively on Jung's introversion-extraversion. A large scale factor analysis, for example, could demonstrate whether or not the traits which Freud posits for each of his types actually are found together or whether they are disparate. A large scale factor analysis on Spranger's types would show the extent to which his types overlap. Factor analysis could also show if sensitivity to movement and color is related to personality in the manner suggested by Rorschach.

Empirical and experimental methods could be used profitably to test a few of these typologies and to take them out of the realm of partisan arguments. Freud, for example, suggests that

certain kinds of oral and anal training produce certain kinds of adult personalities. It would not appear to be difficult to get two groups of infants from approximately similar socio-economic environments and then supervise their toilet training and food intake in such a manner as to test the effect of these disciplines on their adult personalities, by following this group as it grows up, in the manner of Terman's genetic studies of genius.

Empirical tests might be devised to determine the extent to which the adult nervous system is actually concerned with the kind of personality an individual has, thus testing Pavlov's typology.

If some psychologists devoted their energies to devising techniques for measuring endocrine effect on personality, instead of leaving this to endocrinologists, it is likely that it would be possible for psychologists to have actually germane material on endocrinological types, instead of speculation. A series of empirical tests could be devised to test the extent to which an adult's values are fixed and generalized, rather than improvised for specific situations, and could thus test the extent to which Spranger's typology represents a statement of permanent personality patterns rather than of temporary situational facets.

One recommendation which emerges from this study is that no system of typology be used by scientists without full

awareness of the many weaknesses and gaps in the structure of typologies. The use of typologies is misleading unless they are approached gingerly and handled with great caution and with explicit statements about their failings. The need to find a dimension of personality which is about midway between its most specific and individualizing features and its most general features has led to an acceptance of current typologies in many quarters. Any acceptance of typologies should be critical and searching, and they should definitely not be used without specific conditions for their use being suggested by the researcher.

CHAPTER XIII

THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

It has been found that, examined individually, none of the nine systems of psychological typology considered in this study can be regarded as definitively valid. In addition to this finding that none of the systems stands up under investigation, several general theoretical implications emerge. They deal with the incompatibility between typology and variability, the interaction of personality and environment, typology and personality rigidity, typology and factor analysis, comparative criticism of physiological and psychological typologies, the misuse of type theories, and the typologies of the future.

The Incompatibility Between Typology and Variability

An important characteristic of all living organisms is their great variability. The very existence of evolution has depended on variations in organisms. As the biologist Huxley points out, "... man is by far the most variable wild species known."¹ Huxley also points out the extremely wide geographical range of man and shows that one reason for the variability of man is that instead of having many genera, families, and other classificatory groups, "... man's variety has been achieved

1. J. Huxley, Man In the Modern World. London: Chatto and Windus, 1947. P. 282. p. 4.

within the limits of a single species."¹ Huxley emphasizes that the "... resultant crossing has generated recombinations which both quantitatively and qualitatively are on a far bigger scale than is supplied by the internal variability of even the numerically most abundant animal species."²

The range of human variability is so great that a typology's attempt to enclose this range by a few categories is almost certain to be inadequate. Each of the nine typologies considered in this study covers only one facet of personality and it would appear that none of these typologies covers a large enough area of the variability of human personality. Possibly future typologies will rectify this omission, but until they appear, one of the drawbacks of the typologies of today will continue to be their inability to cope with the immense range of personality variability.

The Interaction of Personality and Environment

Interest in the study of personality, in the last few decades, has been so great that even those methods of personality study which had considerable disadvantages, like typologies, have been used. Psychologists have felt that it was so important to understand personality that almost any method should be given a trial, to see if it could help advance personality study in any way. With the accumulation of a body of research material

1. Loc. cit.

2. Ibid., p. 5.

on personality., it has been increasingly evident that typologies contradict the conception of personality which is held by most psychologists today. Modern psychologists view personality as an adaptational and developing entity which results from the interaction between the individual and his environment, and which is dependent to a considerable degree on the situations which the individual confronts. So far, this interactionist view of personality has not been used by typologies because the typologists have not been able to express the continuous interplay between the individual and his environment, within the framework of their typologies. No extant system of typology, therefore, has been able to express adequately the modern interactionist view of personality.

Typology and Rigidity of Personality

Typologists hypothecate a rigidity of personality which is at variance with modern psychology. The rigidity stems from the typologists' belief either in heredity or in fixed learning habits. In their attempts to classify people, typologists have, essentially, assumed that either heredity or learning are unmodifiable to any great extent, and that they establish a manner of meeting situations which is more or less unchangeable. It is possible to classify typologies into those that assume a rigidity of personality as a result of persistent habits of early learning, and those that assume a rigidity as a result of heredity.

Typologists assume either that the effect of heredity

is so unalterable that environment and experience will hardly be able to impinge on the personality (Jung, Jaensch, Berman, Pavlov, Spranger), or they assume that early patterns of learning dominate the personality indefinitely and can never be overcome (Freud, Horney, Fromm, and to some extent, Rorschach).

Actually, modern personality study has clearly established that heredity does not automatically create and rigidly freeze the pattern of personality, and modern learning theory has emphasized that "learning is essentially a reorganization of experience and behavior,"¹ which is constantly taking place, rather than a rigid and unalterable framework. Typologies, therefore, assume inflexibility in personality as a result either of heredity, or of fixed and unalterable patterns of learning which date from infancy. This inflexibility of personality is thoroughly contradicted by a great mass of data on both heredity and learning.²

Typology and Factor Analysis

A technique which has been used on a very large scale to validate typologies is factor analysis.³ Factor analysis of personality is a technique for determining the degree of intercorrelation among personality traits. Typologists are usually opposed to trait theories of personality, because of the manner in which

1. W. D. Commins, Principles of Educational Psychology. New York: The Ronald Press, 1937. P. xiv & 596. p. 333.

2. G. W. Allport, Personality, A Psychological Interpretation, pp. 101-107.

3. Supra, pp. 112-120.

they make the personality too segmented. But in attempting to confirm the existence of typologies through factor analysis, it is necessary to accept the doctrine of traits to some extent, because factor analysis is essentially a statement of trait intercorrelations. Typologists have avoided this issue but it must be faced if factor analysis will continue to be used to confirm the existence of typologies.

The British psychologist Stephenson has proposed a technique of factor analysis in which the correlated variables are not tests but persons.¹ His technique of inverted factor analysis, or the "Q" technique, would resolve this difficulty and would make factor analysis meaningful in terms of persons instead of traits. Stephenson's technique would be of value in the construction of empirically based typologies, if it were used. To date, it has not been used very extensively for this purpose.

Criticism of Physiological and Psychological Types

There is such a mass of material available on human and animal physiology that it is possible to be much more critical of the physiological typologies of such men as Berman and Jaensch than it is to be critical of the psychological typologies, because of the comparative paucity of material available on psychological aspects of personality. It is possible, therefore, to discard some

1. W. Stephenson, "The Inverted Factor Technique", British Journal of Psychology, 26, (1936), pp. 344-361.

physiological typologies with little hesitation, because there is so much empirical material available on physiology. In contrast, the paucity of material available on objective study of psychoanalytic concepts, for example, makes it difficult to be as positive in evaluating the psychoanalytic typologies. In the case of almost every psychoanalytic typology considered in this study, it has been impossible to find a large body of contradictory evidence, but there has been enough such evidence so that it can be said that the system is not definitively established.

Misuse of Type Theories

One of the dangers of typologies is the natural tendency to ignore the cautions of the system's creator, who usually carefully points out that his system is not exact and that most people represent mixed rather than pure types. There is a tendency on the part of people who use a typology to forget this warning and to assume that people are pure types and that they can be categorized as such. Almost every typologist discussed in this study has stated that there are no pure types and that his system must be used with the understanding that most people are mixed types. However, most of those who have used typologies have ignored this caution and they have usually acted on the assumption of the existence of the pure types, in the face of the specific denial of the typologist that such pure types exist. This common tendency compounds the difficulties

attendant on the use of typologies as a result of their uncertain validity, and makes it all the more necessary to use typologies with great caution, if they are to be used at all.

Typologies of the Future

None of the typologies considered in this study engages the problem of human personality in a sufficiently central manner to take adequate account in any integrative manner of psychological areas so germane to personality as learning, perception, or motivation. Personality is integrative and dynamic, and typologies, although they usually attack segmental approaches because they are built on one aspect of the personality, are themselves guilty of a segmental approach, in that they are all built on a monolinear conception of personality. There is no typological system which attempts a multidimensional and synthetic approach to personality.

Typologies represent, in their present stage of development, a curious mixture of good and bad guesses, intuition paraded as science, and an almost total lack of awareness of any other area of personality but the one facet analyzed by each typology. There is an insistence on the importance of this facet, with a disregard for other areas. This unilinear approach weakens every typology discussed in this study.

No extant typology, then, is an adequate expression of personality. Are there any developments in modern psychology which point to new trends in typological research? A recent

symposium would appear to indicate that an empirically derived and multifaceted typology may be a possibility.¹ Klein and Schlesinger suggest that empirically derived and multifaceted typologies may be possible. They say that empirically derived clusters of adaptational syndromes may some day be sufficiently describable and quantifiable to be used as the basis of a typology. They suggest that "... the typological method might be a useful instrument to represent constellations (of perception) ... we aim in fact to build eventually an empirical typology on the basis of these natural clusters."² They suggest that their researches are directed toward creating a typology of individuals with similar syndrome clusters of perceptual systems. Such a typology would be inductively derived, and would not violate the uniqueness of the individual personality but would emphasize the similarity of perceptual organization in similarly organized people.³

This bunching of people with similar perceptual systems would permit commonalities to highlight rather than obscure differences. Klein and Schlesinger emphasize that typology's purpose would thus not be to explain all of personality, but

1. G. S. Klein and H. Schlesinger, "Where Is the Perceiver in Perceptual Theory", in J. S. Bruner and D. Krech, editors, Perception and Personality, A Symposium. Durham: Duke University Press, 1950. P. ix & 266. pp. 32-47.

2. Ibid., p. 44.

3. Loc. cit.

to suggest hypotheses about personality. Discussing this idea, G. Murphy suggests the optimum course of future development of typologies in asking "... why could not the common factor which holds these 'types' together prove to be a somatic predisposition molded through social living into a particular ... process, thus reflecting both biological and social factors simultaneously and in their fullest interpenetration?"¹ An empirically derived typology which would meet Murphy's criteria would be both integrating and practicable, and would do justice to the multidimensional nature of personality, as no typology discussed in this study seems able to do. But such attempts are still in a very exploratory stage, and no typology which meets anything resembling Murphy's requirements exists today. Unless and until such a system of types emerges, no system, including the systems discussed in this study, can be regarded as adequate.

One of the reasons for the formulation of typologies was to help in classifying people. The whole problem of classifying people is a thorny one, with many pitfalls. But as a recent theorist point out, "... the task (of psychological theory) is, in the first instance, one of description and classification"². No typology so far promulgated has adequately either described or classified human personality. It is possible that future typologies will avoid the difficulties posed by extant typologies,

1. Ibid., p. 46.

2. D. Krech, "Notes Toward A Psychological Theory", in Bruner and Krech, op. cit., pp. 66-87. p. 71.

but these typologies of the future do not yet exist and their outlines are blurred and uncertain.

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APPENDIX

**A COMPENDIUM OF TYPOLOGIES, USING
THE CRITERIA EMPLOYED IN THIS STUDY**